INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

FINE ARTS SERIES—No. 4

GAYĀ AND BUDDHA-GAYĀ

Vol. II

BOOKS II—V

OLD SHRINES AT BODH-GAYĀ

INDIAN
RESEARCH
INSTITUTE
विद्ययामृतमश्नुते
CALCUTTA.

BY

BENIMADHAB BARUA, M.A., D. LIT. (LOND.)
Professor, Department of Pali, Lecturer, Departments of Sanskrit and Ancient
Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, formerly a
Government of India Scholar, and author of "Barhut Book I
Stone As A Story-teller", "A History of Pre-Buddhistic
Indian Philosophy", "Barhut Inscriptions",
"Old Brāhmî Inscriptions", etc.

CALCUTTA

1934

CHOWKHAMBA SANSKRIT SERIES OFFICE
VARANASI

Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Hony. Secretary, Indian Research Institute,
55, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta, and printed by Indu Bhusan Roy, from
preface to page 124 at the Sudha Press, 198/1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta,
and rest by Jitendra Nath De, at the Sreekrishna Printing
Works, 259, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.

TO

Dr. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M. A., B. L., Ph. D.

—A distinguished Indologist and Patron of
Buddhistic Studies—

Editor of Indian Culture,

This Volume is dedicated
in token of Love and Long Friendship.

PREFACE

It is not without some sense of relief that I offer at last the remaining books of the illustrated monograph—Gayā And Buddha-Gayā, all in one volume, Vol. II. But for four plates in Book V, this volume has practically no bearing on Gayā proper. It is materially devoted to the Old Shrines at Bodh-Gayā, Book II containing general description, Book III dealing with inscriptions, Book IV presenting bas-reliefs and art, and Book V exhibiting the plates. The monograph does not, therefore, claim to be a complete account of all objects of Buddhist worship and of all records of Buddhist importance. The inscriptions which find place in Book III are mostly records relating to the Old Stone-Railing. The images found worthy of notice are the two figures of Buddha-Bodhisattva installed in Saṃvat 64 of the reign of Mahārāja Trikamala. The Old Shrines with their inscriptions and sculptures are really things of importance, and these have been accorded a detailed treatment which is designed to present the Buddhist Holy Land in its proper historical perspective and to heighten its importance.

It is not for me to say what amount of new material has been brought to bear upon the subject or to what extent this volume will serve as an improvement on Cunningham's Mahābodhi and Rajendralala Mitra's Buddha-Gayā. But I must say that the Indian Research Institute has much honoured me by including this volume in its Fine Arts Series.

I have to mention that most of the Bodh-Gayā figures are reproduced from the album of Messrs. Johnston Hoffmann and only a few are taken from Cunningham's Mahābodhi.

The printing of this volume was far beyond my means, and I would have to abandon the very idea of sending it to the press but for the timely help which was very generously offered by Dr. B. C. Law and Kumar G. C. Law. I am largely indebted to Dr. B. C. Law for the magnanimity and broad-minded sympathy with which he did all that was necessary to complete the costly printing. I shall ever fall short of words in giving an adequate expression to my indebtedness to both of them.

I need not remind the reader of the fact that this volume is but a supplement to Book I constituting a volume by itself. The two volumes together complete my narrative of Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, the Hindu and Buddhist Holy Land. The whole work is to stand out just as a sample of fruitful researches that remain yet to be done separately in connection with many other holy places in this ancient sacred land of ours.

My Alma Mater, the University of Calcutta, which with its Post-Graduate departments in Arts and Science ranks as the premier seat of learning in the East, has given me all facilities for a work of this kind. As years roll by, grows longer and heavier the chain which links my grateful feelings as a researcher to the inspiring memory of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee by whose constructive genius and unflagging devotion the University of Calcutta is what it is to-day.

To Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, who has fostered the Pali and Buddhistic studies in Bengal, to Mr. S. C. Ghose, Secretary to the Post-Graduate Councils, and to my esteemed colleagues Mr. S. N. Mitra, Dr. N. Dutt and Dr. Stella Kramrisch I am much indebted for the keen interest all of them have evinced in the progress of the work. Mr. N. G. Majumdar of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has never grudged me his ready assistance and valuable suggestions, especially in editing the Bodh-Gayā image inscription.

Lastly, at this critical juncture of my life, it is comforting in no mean degree that my paternal uncle and unfailing friend Mr. R. R. Barua, M.A., B.L, Deputy Magistate, has rendered me every possible assistance and strained his resources to enable me to pursue my literary career unimpeded.

University of Calcutta
October 3, 1934.

B. M. Barua

CONTENTS

OLD SHRINES AT BODH-GAYĀ

BOOK II

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Task defined 1- 2
1. Bodhidruma 2- 9
2. Dharmāśokotsṛita Śilā prakāra ... 9- 12
3. Prāchīna Śilāstambha 12- 19
4. Prāchīna Vajrāsana-Gandhakuṭi ... 19- 24
5. Animesha-Chaitya 24- 25
6. Ratna-chaṅkrama-Chaitya 25- 28
7. Ratnagṛiha Chaitya 29- 30
8. Ajapāla-nyagrodha-mūla-Chaitya ... 30- 30
9. Rājāyatana-mūla-Chaitya ... 30- 31
10. Muchalinda-mūla-Chaitya 31- 32
11. Other Shrines mentioned By Fa Hian ... 32- 32
12. Fa Hian's Three Monasteries 32- 37
13. Mahābodhi-Vihāra 37- 47
14. Pūrṇavarmā-kṛita-śilā-prākāra ... 47- 48
15. Śilā-toraṇa 49- 50
16. Other Shrines mentioned By Hwen Thsang . 50- 52
17. Part played By different personages 53- 60
18. Hold of Bodh-Gayā sanctuaries on the affection and superstition of the Buddhist folk ... 60- 62
19. Place of Buddha's Footprints ... 62- 64

BOOK III

INSCRIPTIONS

Task defined ... 65- 65
I. Inscription on the Covering stone-slab of the Old Diamond-throne 65- 65
II. Masons' marks ... 66- 66
III. Fifteen Inscriptions of Kuraṅgi ... 66- 67
IV. The Inscription of Sirimā ... 67- 67
V. The Inscription of Nāgadevī ... 67- 68
VI. The Inscription of Amogha ... 68- 68
VII. The Inscription of Bodhirakshita ... 68- 68
VIII. The Inscription of some donor ... 68- 68
IX. Two Coping-inscriptions of Kuraṅgi and Sirimā... 69- 69

X. The Bodh-Gayā Image-inscription ... 70- 70
XI. A mediæval Inscription on the Coping ... 70- 71
XII. The Inscription of Prakhyātakīrtti ... 71- 72
XIII. The Inscription of Jinadāsa ... 72- 73
XIV. Importance of the Inscriptions ... 73- 76

BOOK IV

BAS-RELIEFS AND ART

1. Task defined ... 77- 77
2. The Old Diamond-throne ... 77- 78
3. The upper covering stone-slab ... 78- 78
4. The Old Diamond-throne-temple ... 78- 78
5. The Jewel-walk ... 78- 78
6. The Jewel-walk-shrine ... 78- 78
7. Two Figures of Buddha-Bodhisattva ... 79- 79
8. Composition of the Old Stone-Railing ... 79- 80
9. Composition of the Later Railing ... 80- 81
10. Composition of the Present Railing ... 82- 82
11. Carvings on Sandstone-pillars ... 82. 83
12. Astronomical representations ... 84- 94
13. Popular Hindu divinities ... 94- 97
14. Four chaityas ... 97-101
15. The Reign of a Bo-tree ... 101 102
16. Miraculous growth of Bo-trees ... 102-103
17. The Bo-trees of seven Buddhas ... 103-104
18. Representations of Stories of the Present ... 104-106
19, Representations of Stories of the Past ... 106-115
20, Miscellaneous representations ... 115-116
21. Chronological position ... 117-120
22. Historical importance ... 120-122
23. Artistic consideration ... 122-123
24. Architecture ... 123-124
25. The images of Buddha ... 124-124
Errata & Corrigenda ... 125-126
Index ... 127-130

BOOK V
PLATES

Figures Nos. 1—76

GAYĀ AND BUDDHA-GAYĀ

BOOK II

OLD SHRINES AT BODH-GAYĀ

[GENERAL DESCRIPTION]

1. TASK DEFINED

Our task in this book is to give a general description of the Old Shrines at Bodh-Gayā. Here by "Bodh-Gayā" we are to understand broadly the ancient tract of Uruvelā, and narrowly the sacred site of the Bo-tree and its neighbourhood, and by "Old Shrines" we are to understand (1) the Bodhidruma Aśvattha (Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni), (2) the Dharmāśokotsṛita-śilāstambha (Stone-pillar erected by Aśoka), (3) the Prāchīna Śilā-prākāra (Old Stone-railing), (4) the Prāchīna Vajrāsana-Gandhakuṭi (Old Diamond-throne-temple), (5) the Animesha-chaitya (Fixed-gaze-shrine), (6) the Ratna-chaṅkrama-chaitya (Jewel-walk-shrine), (7) the Ratnagṛiha-chaitya (Jewel-house-shrine), (8) the Ajapāla-nyagrodha-mūla-chaitya (Shrine under the Neat-herd's Banyan), (9) the Rājāyatana-mūla-chaitya (Shrine under the Rājāyatana-tree), (10) the Muchalinda-mūla-chaitya (Shrine under the Muchalinda-tree), (11) Other shrines mentioned by Fa Hian, (12) the three Buddhist monasteries noticed by Fa Hian and known to Hwen Thsang by the name of Mahābodhi-saṅghārāma, (13) the Mahābodhi-vihāra (Great temple at Bodh-Gayā), (14) the Pūrṇavarmākṛita Śilā-prākāra (Stone-railing erected by King Pūrṇavarmā), (15) the Śilā-toraṇa (Stone-gateway), and incidentally (16) Other shrines mentioned by Hwen Thsang who visited Bodh-Gayā in the second quarter of the 7th century.

We keep a twofold object in view in launching upon a work like this: (1) to acquaint the reader with the topography of the Buddhist holy land and the magnitude of Buddhist devotional piety, and (2) to rectify certain errors in previous publications on the subject. As we feel that the treatment of the subject will remain otherwise incomplete, we propose to add three articles at the end, (17) one to set forth the part played by different personages in the development of the Buddhist sanctuaries at Bodh-Gayā, (18) one to ascertain the hold of these sanctuaries on the affection and superstition of the Buddhist folk, and (19) the third to discuss the place of Buddha's footprints among the objects of worship. The discussion of the last point would not have arisen at all but for the removal of the erroneous notion that the prevalence of Hindu worship of Vishṇu's footprint at Gayā proper was due to the prominence accorded by the Buddhists to the impression of Buddha's feet in their most sacred temple at Bodh-Gayā.

1. BODHIDRUMA AŚVATTHA

THE BO-TREE OF BUDDHA ŚĀKYAMUNI

There is no tree which is so famous in history, so fortunate and so highly venerated as *Aśvattha*, the Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni. It is the sacred tree at the foot of which the ascetic Siddhārtha sat at last cross-legged, vanquished the forces of Māra and attained Buddhahood. It is the tree under which the princely ascetic sat down to meditate with an adamant will not to leave his seat until he obtained supreme enlightenment of the human mind. According to the Kāliṅga-bodhi-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 479), the trunk of the Bo was 50 cubits in height and its foliage towered 50 cubits high, giving the tree a total height of 100 cubits. Its foliage is said to have been composed of five main branches, four of them outspreading in four directions and one rising aloft from the trunk, each with an average length of 50 cubits[1]. It belonged apparently to that class of Pippal trees that shoot forth ærial roots, making it easy to engraft their branches and widen their domain. It is the living symbol of Buddhism and its propagation. The sandy ridge or terrace around it is known as *Bodhimaṇḍa*. In course of time the term *Bodhimaṇḍa* came to denote the whole circle of its shade.

The Bo-tree as *Sambodhi* or *Mahābodhi* has lent its name to the Buddhist holy land, and ultimately usurped the name of the tract of Uruvelā[2]. It is honoured by the Hindu folk as *Bodhidruma*, lordly *Aśvattha*, and a living expression of the sanctity of being of their Holy Triad—Brahmā,

---

[1] Fausboll's *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 229: *Bodhikhandho paññāsahatthubbedho, chatūsu disāsu uddhañ chā'ti pañcha-mahāsākhā paññāsa-halthā'va.*

[2] Book I, pp. 162-164.

Vishṇu and Śiva, and imvoked as a witness to their pious acts of fulfilment of triple obligations[1]. The Lalitavistara describes it as a charming abode of four tree-spirits, Veṇu, Valgu, Sumana and Ojopati by name. The great Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang has left the following description of the Bo in his Si-yu-ki:

"The Bodhi-tree above the Diamond-throne is the same as the *Pippala* tree. In old days when Buddha was alive, it was several hundred feet high. Although it has often been injured by cutting, it still is 40 or 50 feet in height. Buddha sitting under this tree reached perfect wisdom (*Samyak Sambodhi*) and therefore it is called the tree of knowledge (*Pu-ti*, Bodhi). The tree is of a yellowish-white colour, the leaves and twigs of a dark green. The leaves wither not either in winter or summer but they remain shining and glistening all the year round without change"[2].

The Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni appears to have an eventful history of its own. It goes without saying that it could not have maintained its living identity save and except through a number of deaths and revivals, and preserved its line and extended its domain save and except through grafts and seeds. It is difficult to say precisely how many times it died and revived. All the traditions of the Buddhists agree, however, in saying that it perished and revived once during the reign of King Aśoka[3], perished in consequence of a nefarious act on the part of Tishyarakshitā, his wicked second queen-consort, either of cutting it down at the very level of the ground[4] or of tying a charm-spelled thread round its trunk[5], and revived by virtue of a meritorious act on the part of the good king and as a happy result of the growth of a shoot from its roots washed with perfumed water and milk. According to Hwen Thsang, it perished once again in the 7th century A. D. in consequence of a similar nefarious act on the part of the wicked king Śaśāṅka of Bengal and revived within a short time by a similar process of natural growth helped by the good king Pūrṇavarmā of Magadha. To quote the chinese pilgrim in his own words:

"In late times Śaśāṅka-rāja (*She-shang-kia*), being a believer in heresy, slandered the religion of Buddha, and through envy destroyed the convents and cut down the Bodhi-tree, digging it up to the very springs of the earth; but yet he did not get to the bottom of its roots. Then he burnt it with fire and sprinkled it with the juice of the sugar-cane desiring to destory it entirely, and not have a trace of it behind. Some months afterwards, the king of Magadha, called Pūrṇavarmā *(Pu-la-na-fa-mo)*, the last of the race of Aśoka-rāja, hearing of it, sighed and said, 'The sun of wisdom having set, nothing is left but the tree of Buddha, and this they now have destroyed, what source of spiritual life is there now ?' He then cast his body on the ground overcome with pity; then with the milk of a thousand cows he again bathed the roots of the tree, and in a night it once more revived and grew to the height of some 10 feet"[1].

---

[1] Book I, p. 233.

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 116-117.

[3] That King Asoka himself, while he was an unbeliever and remained under the influence of heresy, proved guilty of an attempt to destroy the Bo by burning it is an information for which Hwen Thsang and Hwen Thsang alone is responsible (Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 117). This is not supported by any other known authority.

[4] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 117.

[5] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 397.

We need not set up here a fresh defence for the Śaiva king Śaśāṅka, if he be truly charged for the alleged act of vandalism. Here it may suffice simply to remind the reader of the conclusion we were compelled to draw from the set of facts laid before us by Cunningham, namely, that the Bo-tree, whether then alive or dead, had to be cut down and uprooted for the preparation of a suitable site for the great temple at Bodh-Gayā at the time of its erection ; that, in other words, the condemned act of destruction of the Bo-tree was but an unavoidable exigency of the laudable work of construction of the Bodh-Gayā temple[2].

We are completely in the dark as to what happened to the tree reared up by King Pūrṇavarmā. It is certain that the present tree is one of recent growth. There may be some truth in the following observations of Cunningham concerning the duration of the tree associated with the fame of King Pūrṇavarmā :

"It seems to have been spared during the latter end of the 7th century, after the death of Harshvardhana.......If it escaped during the following century, 700 to 800 A. D., the tree planted by Pūrṇavarmā may have lasted down to the time of the Buddhist dynasty of Pāla kings, which began to reign about A. D. 813. After this it was safe until the time of the Muhammadan invasion under Bakhtiyar Khalji in A. D. 1201. As the Moslems spared the famous tree at Peshāwar, it is probable that the Mahābodhi tree was then left untouched."[3]

Two large pieces of an old Pippal tree were discovered by Cunningham, one 9½ inches in length, and the other 4 inches, while he excavated the holy site of the Bodh-Gayā temple. These were found embedded in the sandy soil, just outside the granite facing of the ancient Diamond-throne, 2 feet below the level of the foot of the Throne, 30 feet below the terrace level where the predecessor of the present tree had stood, and at a short distance to the west of the old *Vajrāsana*. It may not be improbable, as Cunningham seems to think, that these two fragments were part of the Pippal tree which is said to have been cut down by Śaśāṅka about A. D. 600 to 620[1].

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 188.

[2] Book I, pp. 192-194.

[3] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 31.

Precisely how many predecessors of the present tree took in succession the place of the Bo reared up by King Pūrṇavarmā is a matter beyond our knowledge. The present tree has leaped into the proud position of the Bo from the year 1876 which witnessed the death of its immediate predecessor. As for the parent tree and immediate predecessor, it was in full vigour when Dr. Buchanan Hamilton saw it in 1811. It could not then in all probability have exceeded 100 years in age. In December 1862, Cunningham found this tree "very much decayed; one large stem to the westward, with three branches, was still green, but the other branches were barkless and rotten." He next saw it in 1871, and again in 1875, "when it had become completely decayed, and shortly afterwards, in 1876, the only remaining portion of the tree fell over the west wall during a storm, and the old Pipal tree was gone. Many seeds, however, had been collected, and young scions of the parent tree were alrady in existence to take its place."[2]

There are three widely recognized natural processes of propagating the Bo-tree *Aśvattha*, all of which were tried with success by the votaries of the Buddha. These are: (1) the process of generating it as a shoot from a root of the parent tree; (2) that of generating it as a sapling from a seed; and (3) that of generating it as a graft from a branch. We have noticed above how the first process was tried at Bodh-Gayā from age to age in maintaining the living identity of the original Bo-tree. Now it remains to be seen how the second process was tried at Jetavana and the third at Anurādhapura. The description of planting a Bo-seed at Jetavana is contained in the introductory episode of the Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka, and that of planting a graft at Anurādhapura in the Chronicles of Ceylon and the Samantapāsādikā of Buddhaghosha.

The general belief is that the Pippal and Banyan trees germinate only from those seeds which have passed through the stomach of the birds, the crows and the like. The Jātaka account, however, takes no cognizance of this fact. The description is indeed that of the magical growth of a Bo-sapling. The Birth-story says that a suitable cavity was dug out beforehand at the selected site to hold in the seed-pot, the seed-pan or the seed-box. A ripe fruit was procured from the great Bo-tree through a reliable agency, and it had been dipped in perfumed water before it was sown in a large seed-pan (filled with fertilised powdered dust) and having an aperture at the bottom. The seed-pan with the Bo-sapling nurtured in it was duly set in the cavity with proper arrangements made for watering it[1].

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 31.

[2] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 30.

The Jātaka account is evidently a description of the process followed for planting a Bo-seed at the entrance of the Jetavana monastery. The Samantapāsādikā contains a similar description of the traditional process of planting the seeds of a Bo-graft in Ceylon[2]. It is interesting to note that one of the Bodh-Gayā carvings illustrates the process of growth of a Bo-tree from a seed sown in a seed-box, indicating its three or four successive stages[3].

As regards the planting of a Bo-graft in the heart of the city of Anurādhapura during the reign of King Aśoka of India and that of King Devānampriya Tishya of Ceylon, Buddhaghosha gives an exhaustive account of it in the introductory section of his Samantapāsādikā. Divested of its ceremonial and magical or supernormal trappings, his description comes to this that the branch of the Bo-tree selected for engrafting on the soil of Ceylon was one of its southern branches. It was cut round to a certain depth with a sharpened cutting instrument and at a certain height so as to leave a part of it untouched. The trunk of the graft was 10 cubits in height, and each of its five main branches was 4 cubits in length, giving the graft a total height of 14 cubits. The care was thus taken to select that branch which was endowed with five main branches and a thousand minor branches so that it might, when grown up, look like a replica of the parent tree. The graft was cut round to such a depth that it might break down under its own weight. Some nine scratches were successively made upon it leaving intervening spaces of three-finger-length from the main cut upwards. The bubble-like lumpy protuberances appeared at each of these scratches. The graft was set in a large graft-pan when it became quite fit to take root in the soil, being equipped with ten principal roots that shot forth, four fingers in length, from the protuberance at the lowest scratch and eighty other roots that shot forth from the upper eight protuberances forming a fine net-work of fibres. The pan was kept ready beforehand, with arrangements for watering, for holding in the graft. The work was so carefully done and with so much success that no sign of withering appeared on the graft. As luck would have it, all its leaves remained green and fresh, and all of its five fruits remained intact. Under proper watch and ward the graft was conveyed to the island of Laṅkā and planted in the heart of the city of Anurādhapura. Of the eight Bo-sprouts that were made to germinate from one of the five fruits by the application of the process described above, one was planted on a site in Jambukolapaṭṭana, one at the entrance of the Brahmin village called Tavakka, one on the site of the monastery called Thūpārāma, one in the compound of a monastery built by Īśvara (Śiva-Maheśvara), one on the spot of the first sanctuary, one on the sacred hill called Chetiyapabbata, and the remaining two in two villages called Kājaragāma and Chandanagāma, in the district of Rohaṇa. And as for the thirty-two sprouts that were made to grow from the remaining four fruits, all of them were planted in suitable places[1].

---

[1] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 228: *Jetavandvāre Bodhiropanaṭṭhāne āvāṭaṃ khanāpetvā mahāmoggallānam āha : mahābodhito me Bodhipakkam āharathā' ti. Thero mahābodhiropanaṭṭhāne mahantaṃ suvaṇṇakaṭāhaṃ ṭhapetvā heṭṭhā chiddaṃ kāretvā...........taṃ Bodhipakkaṃ mahāseṭṭhissa hatthe ṭhapesi. Anāthapiṇḍiko gandhakalasaṃ viyhuhitvā tattha pātesi.*

[2] *Samantapāsādikā*, Vol. I, p. 100.

[3] Fig. No. 12.

The Buddhist literary descriptions and sculptural representations enable us to find the great Bo-tree at Bodh-Gayā in its two different situations or two different appearances, one chronologically earlier and the other later, we mean, either in its natural situation and private appearance or in its artistic situation and public appearance. There can hardly be a better summary, we believe, of Buddhist descriptions of its natural situation and private appearance than the following attempted in Book I :

"The lordly *Aśvattha* at the centre with a silver-white terrace of sand at its foot. The terrace a bare ground bereft of grass and approached on all sides by the encircling creepers with their serpentine courses. The *Aśvattha* with the terrace standing in the midst of lofty trees with tops sloping towards the central height and marked out by a long vista opening out towards the east through an avenue of *Sāl* trees as far as the wide expanse of the glistening beach of the Neranjarā of crystal flow. Yonder in the immediate neighbourhood, stood the Neat-herd's Banyan, the *Rājāyatana* of royal fame and the *Muchalinda* tree growing on the bank of the Muchalinda lake, all redolent with living associations of movements and joyous ponderings of the Enlightened one. The river lively at mid-day with dancing steps of the mirthful Nāga damsels. The sombre site gay with carols of *Kalavinka* and other sweet-singing birds. The tree-tops swayed to and fro by wind. The whole atmosphere arousing a sense of presence of the divinities and benevolent spirits".[1]

---

[1] *Samantapāsādikā*, Vol. I, pp. 94, 130.

The great Bo-tree remained in such a natural situation and private appearance up till the reign of King Bindusāra and even till the first pilgrimage of King Aśoka to Bodh-Gayā. Without unduly interfering with its natural situation and private appearance arose and developed its artistic situation and public appearance[2] onwards from the middle of the reign of Dharmāśoka. And so far as its artistic situation and public appearance go, there are, broadly speaking, two stages to be discriminated, one prevailing prior to and the other posterior to the erection of the famous Bodh-Gayā temple.

The enthronement of the Bo and the development of the inner court are the two main features to be noted in the pre-temple stage which continued till the visit of Fa Hian. The first step taken by King Aśoka towards formal enthronement of the Bo was, if we may rightly presume, to provide it with a seat of honour in the shape of a highly polished quadrangular sandstone slab and to post a royal standard in the shape of an awe-striking monolith bearing a standing figure of an elephant upon its capital. The way to the second step taken by the Noble Lady and Matron Kuraṅgi and her compatriots for the development of the inner court was shown by the Barhut artists in some of their designs in stone. By the beginning of the Christian era the Bo appeared confronted by a Diamond-throne, marked out by a lofty stone-pillar, sorrounded by a quadrangular sandstone-railing, 10 feet high above the ground, and adorned by a Jewel-walk shrine and a few other commemorative sanctuaries. Finally, by the time of Fa Hian's visit there could be seen three Buddhist monasteries and a number of statues of the Buddha installed in the earlier sanctuaries.

The devlopment of the outer court and the multiplication and overcrowding of the sanctuaries are the two main features that characterise the post-temple stage. As a general description of this stage, there can be nothing better than one left by Hwen Thsang:

"Going south-west from mount Prāgbodhi about 14 or 15 *li*, we come to the Bodhi-tree. It is surrounded by a brick wall of considerable height, steep and strong. It is long from east to west, and short from north to south. It is about (?) 500 paces round. Rare trees with their renowned flowers connect their shade and cast their shadows; the delicate *sha* (? *kuśa*) herb and different shrubs carpet the soil. The principal gate opens to the east, opposite the Nairanjanā river. The southern gate adjoins a great flowery bank. The western side is blocked up and difficult of access. The northern gate opens into the great *sanghārāma*. Within the surrounding wall the sacred traces touch one another in all directions. Here there are *stūpas*, in another place *vihāras* (temples). The kings, princes, and great personages throughout all Jambudvīpa (India), who have accepted the bequeathed teaching as handed down to them have erected these monuments as memorials."[1]

---

[1] Book I, p. 165.

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 115.

2. DHARMĀŚOKOTSRITA ŚILĀSTAMBHA

THE STONE-PILLAR ERECTED BY AŚOKA

The first notable act done by the pious king Aśoka to fulfil his idea of *dharmayātrā* or religious tour was to proceed to Sambodhi or Bodh-Gayā when he had been consecrated ten years. The details of this pilgrimage as recorded in his Eighth Rock Edict do not include the erection of any pillar or shrine. There is, moreover, no evidence to prove that he had visited any other sacred place of the Buddhists in continuation of this tour. The Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar (Nigliva) Pillar inscription clearly indicate that he undertook afterwards a systematic pilgrimage to all the then known Buddhist holy places in India when he had been consecrated twenty years.

It is evident from the Rummindei Pillar inscription that at the village of Lumbinī, then known as the birth-place of Buddha Śākyamuni, the Buddhist emperor set up a stone-pillar and executed some other work in stone[2], obviously to commemorate his visit to the sacred site and to mark it out with a durable sign. Similarly the Nigāli Sāgar Pillar inscription goes to prove that in the very same year and in continuation of the very same tour the pious king set up another monolith to mark out the site of a *stūpa* of Buddha Konāgamana, which had been enlarged by him some six years back. The date of erection of the pillars at Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī, Sānchi and Saṃkāśya may be assigned to this very period of time.

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 115. Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl.

[2] Rummindei Pillar Inscription: *Devānapiyena Piyadasina lājina visativasābhisitena atana āgācha mahiyite 'Hida Budhe jāte Sakyamunīti silāvigaḍabhichā kālāpita silāthabhe cha usapāpite.*

The Divyāvadāna legend of Aśoka contains a realistic account of his pilgrimage to the then known Buddhist holy places in Northern India. Among other points of interest, the edifying legend brings us home to these three facts, each of importance : (1) That the twofold object of the great king in undertaking such a pilgrimage was to pay worship at the sacred sites associated with the life and career of the Buddha and to put up visible signs to mark out these sites as an act of favour to the future visitors[1] ; (2) That the person who acted as the royal pilgrim's guide and enabled the king to locate the historic spots was no other than the saintly monk Upagupta ; and (3) That, according to the programme of this tour, Lumbinī was the first place to be visited by him.

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee has seriously raised an important issue as to which, Bodh-Gayā or Lumbinī, was the first place of Aśoka's pilgrimage,[2] giving his verdict in favour of Bodh-Gayā. But it would seem that Dr. Mookerjee has pressed a wrong issue, considering the fact that none doubts now-a-days the truth of Aśoka's first pilgrimage to Bodh-Gayā in the 10th or 11th year of his reign. The undecided issues are : Did the programme of the second pious tour undertaken by the good king about a decade later include Bodh-Gayā among the places to be visited by him ? If it did, which of the two, Bodh-Gayā or Lumbinī, was the first place visited by him ? And if he had visited Bodh-Gayā again a decade later, what special act of merit was done by him on the memorable spot ?

Now to decide these points at issue: We find that just a year before his going to Lumbinī and the *stūpa* of Konāgamana when he had been consecrated twenty years, the pious king had dedicated the third Cave-dwelling to the Ājīvika recluses at the Barābar hills, and that these hills lay on the way to and from Gayā and Bodh-Gayā. The wording of the Third Barābar Hill cave inscription differs considerably from that of the two earlier dedications[3] and shows almost beyond any doubt that the third or last dedication was done under his personal supervision. If so, it is quite possible that he started for Lumbinī after his return to Pāṭaliputra from Bodh-Gayā *via* Gayā, the Barābar hills and Rājagṛiha.[1]

---

[1] Divyāvadāna, p. 389.

[2] Mookerjee's *Asoka*, p. 151, f. n. 2.

[3] S. N. Mitra reads: *Lāja Piyadasi ekunavisati-vasābhisite jal*[o]*ghā ugama thātave iyaṃ kubhā (tatiye) Kha-(latikasi me) dinā (Ajīvikehi).*

As for his special act of merit, there is no direct evidence as yet to decide the issue. Looking out for collateral evidences, we chance upon two Barhut carvings, one representing a scene of worship of the Bo-tree and the other that of an offshoot or descendant of the same, in both of which the Bo-tree *Aśvattha* is confronted by an Aśokan monolith surmounted by the standing figure of an elephant. In both, the stone-pillar is placed on the north-east side of the tree and at a short distance from it[3]. These bas-reliefs are responsible, no doubt, for the appearance of an elephant-capital Aśokan pillar in the spurious Bodh-Gayā Plaque[3]. That the spot of the Bo-tree was once marked with an ornamented stone-pillar is equally borne out by an account in the Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 479), which mentions eighteen cubits as the probable height of the monolith[4].

The reason for the erection at Bodh-Gayā of an Aśokan monolith bearing the standing figure of an elephant is still a matter of speculation. The elephant is just one of the four animals that figure on the capitals of Aśokan pillars, the remaining three being the Lion, the Bull and the Horse. All the four of them are made to figure in the round of the lion-capital of Aśoka's pillar at Sārnāth. In the opinion of Dr. Vincent A. Smith the four figures are intended to symbolise the four quarters[5]. But the true explanation would seem to be this that each of them stands out as a symbol of the manliness or stupendous personality of the Buddha, revered as a great hero and praised in Buddhist literature as *Narasiha*[6], *Purisājanna*[7], *Usabhoriva*[8], and *Gajinda*[9]. The Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka offers indirectly a fantastic explanation for the appearance of the elephant-figure. According to this Birth-story, the figure is nothing but a representation of the sky-going state-elephant of a king of Kaliṅga who remained poised in the air, even after it was dead, unable to cross the hallowed site of the Bo-tree in spite of repeated goading[10].

---

[1] Book I, pp. 112-113.

[2] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. III. See Fig. No. 10.

[3] *JBORS*, 1926, p. 179.

[4] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 236 : *Bodhimaṇḍe aṭṭhārasa-hatthaṃ suvaṇṇa-thambhaṃ ussāpesi.*

[5] A *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60.

[6] *Narasihagāthā* quoted in Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 89.

[7] *Dhammapada*, Buddhavagga.

[8] *Dhaniya-sutta, Sutta-Nipāta.*

[9] *Narasihagāthā.*

[10] Fausböll's Jātaka, Vol. IV, p. 234.

What has befallen the stone-pillar erected by King Aśoka at Bodh-Gayā we cannot say. The monolith is noticed neither by Fa Hian nor by Hwen Thsang. If it had actually been erected by the great Maurya emperor, its disappearance must have taken place before the visit of the Chinese pilgrims. The historian may sit down to speculate about it and make all manner of conjecture. He may imagine, for instance, that it was transferred from its original place by some such Gupta monarch as Samudragupta before its extinction or passing into a state of non-recognition. But so long as the fact of its erection remains a matter of inference, we cannot hazard anything beyond this observation that it is rather easier to presume its erection by the Maurya monarch than its disappearance caused by some unknown agent.

3. PRĀCHĪNA ŚILĀ PRĀKĀRA

THE OLD STONE-RAILING

The present quadrangular stone-railing, as it still stands around the Bo-tree and the Bodh-Gayā temple, offers a problem to the modern Indian archæologist and historian. It consists, as Dr. Bloch characteristically points out, of "two different parts, which may at once be distinguished from each other, not only by the difference in the style of carvings but also by the different material, from which each of them has been made. The older set, Cunningham's so-called 'Aśoka railing', is made of sandstone from the Kaimur range of hills, near Sasseram, in the district of Shāhābād; a later set, probably of the Gupta time (300-600 A. D,), is made of a coarse granite, or gneiss, such as one finds employed to a large extent in late temples in Magadha or Bihār. The carvings on each set also bear a striking difference, The older set has a number of *relievos* representing the usual scenes, well-known to us from other ancient Buddhist railings, *e. g.*, the *Indrasālaguhā* ; the purchase of the Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika, Lakshmī bathed by the *diggajas* ; Sūryya standing on a chariot drawn by four horses, etc. On the later, or Gupta, pillars of the railing we meet with ornamental figures only, such as Garudas, Kīrtimukhas, *stūpas*, etc., bearing in every detail the well-known characteristics of Gupta art such as we find at Sārnāth and other ancient sites in India."[1]

Another point of distinction between the two sets lies in the fact that all the inscriptions, whether of an earlier or a later date, are found incised on the sandstone pillars, rails and coping-stones, while the granite structure remains wholly uninscribed.

---

[1] Bloch's *Notes on Bodh-Gayā in Archæological Survey of India*, Report for 1908-9, p. 146.

How to satisfactorily account for the interweaving of sandstone and granite parts in a quadrangular frame of the present railing is the question which imperiously demands an answer. One thing is certain, namely, that the sandstone parts have an independence of their own in the sense that, interwoven and lined on each side between two corner-pillars all the four of which are made of sandstone, they can form a quadrangular fence of smaller size, while the granite parts are lacking in such independence. We mean that the quadrangular frame, as suggested by the four corner-pillars is that of an earlier and smaller sandstone enclosure. It is not at all difficult to separate the two elements, as they are interwoven and set in distinct blocks on each of the four sides, if not at each of the four angles.

On the south side, the eastern half is entirely made of sandstone, while the western half is a granite structure set between two sandstone pillars, one, *i. e.*, the western, a corner, and the other, *i. e.*, the eastern, a gate pillar.

On the west side, the southern half is a sandstone structure set between the sandstone pillar at the south-west corner and a gate-pillar of granite to the north, and the northern half is a granite structure set between the sandstone pillar at the north-west corner and a gate-pillar of granite to the south.

On the north side, the western half is a granite block set between the sandstone pillar at the north-west corner and a gate-pillar of granite to the east, while the eastern half is a sandstone piece between the sandstone pillar at the north-east corner and a gate-pillar of granite to the west.

The arrangement on the east side is unknown, and it will ever remain a matter of conjecture. Applying the rule of symmetry we might say that on this side the northern half was a sandstone block between the sandstone pillar at the north-east corner and a gate-pillar of granite to the south, while the southern half was a granite piece between the sandstone pillar at the south-east corner and a gate-pillar of granite to the north.

We are not in vain imagining the existence of an earlier and smaller sandstone railing on the site of the great temple at Bodh-Gayā. During repairs of this temple Cunningham was able to trace out the plinth of such a railing under its basement[1]. It appears that the earlier quadrangular railing consisted of some sixty-four pillars, fifteen on the north side including the two corner; fifteen on the south side including the two corner; eighteen intermediate pillars on the west side; and sixteen intermediate pillars on the east side including the two gate[1]. That is to say, the earlier enclosure was blocked on three sides and had just one entrance or gateway in the middle of the east side. This old Stone-railing was erected evidently to enclose the Bo-tree which stood almost in the centre with the most ancient known Diamond-throne-temple in front. Though there was no distinct gateway on the west side, it seems that the appearance of a gate was sought to be produced by enclosing the middle space of this side by two pillars, one, *i. e.*, the northern[2], prominent with the standing figure of a Yaksha on its outer or western face, and the other, *i. e.*, the southern, with that of a climbing figure of Yakshiṇī or of some other demi-goddess (*devatā*). The northern pillar stands now at the eastern end of the north side of the present railing with the Yaksha figure kept facing the north, and the southern pillar stands at the eastern end of the south side with the Yakshiṇī figure kept facing the south.

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pls. II, XI.

"The shaft [of the pillars of this ancient railing] average about 14 inches by 12 inches in section, the corner pillars being perfect squares of $14^1/_2$ inches each side............an arrangement of 64 pillars would cover.........just 246 feet 9 inches leaving an opening of 6 feet to 8 feet for an entrance on the east side"[3].

"The rail-bars are of the usual double covered section to fit into the almond-shaped holes to the side of the pillars". There being altogether 63 spaces to be covered and three holes in each space, the total number of the rail-bars was 189 (63 × 3) at the most.

The height of the ancient railing was 7 feet 10 inches above the plinth, the coping being 1 foot 2 inches and the pillars 6 feet 8 inches. And adding to this the height of the plinth, we might say that the railing stood about 10 feet high above the level of the ground. As may be judged by the gate-pillar bearing the fragment of a coping-stone on the south side of the present railing, the height of the gateway on the east side was about 10 feet above the plinth and about 13 or 14 feet above the level of the ground.

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 11.

[2] It is just for the convenience of description that one is called northern and the other southern. One cannot really be sure as to which is which. What we want the reader to understand is that both the pillars stood with the Yaksha and the Yakshiṇī figure kept facing the west.

[3] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 11.

There are 13 rail-bars *in situ*, 9 in the eastern half of the present railing to the south of the temple and 4 in the eastern half on the north side. There are two rail-bars in the Indian Museum Calcutta, each of which is labelled with an inscription. Cunningham has made mention of another inscribed piece[1], the whereabouts of which are at present unknown.

Just a few fragments of the sandstone coping now survive, most of which remain *in situ*, and one or two are exibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Those *in situ* suffice to cover the space of some 12 pillars in the eastern portion of the south side of the present railing. One of the fragments *in situ* bears on its outer face an inscription of the post-Aśokan period. The text of this very inscription is found incised also on the outer face of a similar fragment in the Indian Museum. The inner face of the last-mentioned fragment bears the part of a long inscription of the mediæval period. Another part of the remainder of this record is still at Bodh-Gayā, on the inner face of another fragment of the coping, south of the temple[2]. On the inner face of another fragment of a coping-stone we meet with the inscription of a Ceylonese pilgrim who visited Bodh-Gayā in the 7th or 8th century[3]. The outer faces of the coping-stones are ornamented with continuous bands of lotus flowers, and the inner faces with 'long strings of animals, some natural, but others quite fabulous', there being 'elephants and lions, bulls and deer, goats and sheep, mingled with winged horses and fish-tailed elephants, lions, and rams'[4]. The inner faces are distinguished indeed by a queer sort of heraldic designs in which the man figures as a lord over the rest of animals. As for the lotus bands on the outer faces, they are of two kinds, in some we have a continuous row of five varieties of lotus flowers carved in a uniform order, and in others the lotus flowers trench one upon the other and thus partly overlap each other. This marked difference in the two lotus bands distinguishes at once the two sets of coping in the sandstone railing.

Let us now take stock of the surviving pillars. In achieving this task we have to bear in mind that here we are to look out for the lingering remnants of some 64 pillars, two gate, four corner, and fifty-eight intermediate. The gate-pillars may be broadly distinguished from the rest by the fact that none of them could have the three almond-shaped mortices on more than one side, while the corner and intermediate pillars had to bear mortices on two sides. In the case of the intermediate pillars, the two sets of mortices figure on two opposite sides, and in that of the corner, they appear on two consecutive sides forming the arms of the inner angle. Thus it becomes easy to understand that the gate pillars have clear spaces for decoration on three sides, the corner on two outer sides, and the intermediate on two opposite faces.

---

[1] *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. III, p. 89, Pl, XXVI.

[2] Bloch's *Notes on Bodh Gayā* in *Archæological Survey sf India*, report for 1908-9 p. 153, f., n. 2.

[3] Bloch's *Notes on Bodh-Gayā* p. 156.

[4] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 12.

Of the two gate-pillars belonging to the east side of the earlier railing, one remains almost intact and the other is broken in its upper part. Both of them are found *in situ* on the south side of the present railing where they are made to form two pillars of the southern gateway. The northern pillar now stands as the western pillar of the present gateway on the south at the time of rearrangement ; the first thought in the mind of the craftsman was to set it with the mortices on its northern side kept facing the west, a procedure involving the necessity of cutting three other mortices on its western side to the injury of the lotus ornament at the bottom, the lotus ornament at the top and the quadrangular panel of carving in the middle. He actually proceeded with this unpleasant task, and completely cut the lower mortice injuring the lotus ornaments at the bottom. He did this part of his work with impunity. Then he commenced to cut the upper mortice. The manner in which he proceeded was first to carve the outline and next to cut the hole from bottom to top. Just on finishing one-third part of his work, he stopped it, determined not to continue it any further, fearing lest it would involve him in the sin of amputating the legs of a standing figure of Śrī, the Hindu goddess of Luck, within the lotus ornament at the top. Having got to make a choice between two evils, he found the lesser evil to be to cut the three mortices on the eastern or opposite side that did not bear the figure of any god or goddess.

One of the four corner-pillars, two survive intact and one survive in fragments. Of the two pillars that remain intact, one stands at present at the north-west and the other at the south-west corner of the present railing. It is probable that the same positions were occupied by them also in the original railing. We have just a lingering fragment of the third or broken pillar exhibited in the Indian Museum, namely, the one representing either its lower or its middle part.

Precisely how many of the middle or intermediate pillars survive to this day it is difficult to say. Roughly we may put down their maximum number at 45. As already suggested before, two of them, one bearing the standing figure of a yaksha on its outer face and found *in situ* at the eastern end of the north side and the other bearing the climbing figure of yakshiṇī or Devatā and found *in situ* at the eastern end of the south side of the present railing, once stood to enclose the middle space of the west side of the earlier railing with the yaksha and the yakshiṇī figure kept facing the west. The yaksha-pillar which remains almost intact is labelled with an inscription recording the name of Queen Nāgadevī as its female donor [Fig. 20]. The yakshiṇī pillar now stands as a pillar at the south-east corner, and some later workman has injured its inner face by cutting three mortices upon it.

Of the remaining pillars, three are removed to the Kensington Museum, London, nineteen are to be found *in situ* in the eastern half of the south side of the present railing, a few in the southern half of the west side, about a dozen in the eastern half of the north side, just one in the northern half of the east side, and a few small fragments are preserved in the Indian Museum. Of the pillars on the south side, eleven remain intact, one is broken at the top and the rest are broken retaining their lower parts [Fig. 18]. Of those on the west side, a good many remain intact [Fig. 15]. Those on the north side are all broken retaining anyhow the lotus ornaments at the bottom [Fig. 16], and that on the east side bears sad marks of injury on its outer face due to the cutting of mortices at the time of rearrangement [Fig. 19]. The last-mentioned pillar is labelled with an inscription recording the name of its female donor Sirimā. Fifteen among the surviving pillars bear similar labels inscribing the name of the Noble Lady and Matron Kuraṅgi [Fig. 14].

It is then no longer necessary to mention that Cunningham, misled partly by Hwen Thsang,[1] committed a serious mistake in describing this sandstone enclosure of the Bo-tree as "Asoka railing". It is far from being an Aśokan erection. As the inscribed votive labels clearly indicate, it is primarily an erection of the Noble Lady and Matron Kuraṅgi, the elderly wife of King Kauśikīputra Indrāgnimitra who belonged probably to a neo-Mitra dynasty[2].

Long before one could think of constuction of the present temple there was the great Bo-tree, the memorable spot of which came to be marked with an Aśokan monolith bearing the standing figure of an elephant on its capital. The same Bo-tree with a small Diamond-throne-temple in front became enclosed by a quadrangular railing of sandstone erected by Kuraṅgi and others probably towards the close of the 1st century B. C., with a regular gateway on the east side and a false gate on the west. There is no model yet discovered, which exactly tallies with this artistic situation of the Bo-tree at Bodh-Gayā.

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 118.

[2] See Book III, *passim*.

One of the carvings on the old Stone-railing presents the Bo-tree surrounded by a quadrangular railing of a crude type, which is far from giving a faithful representation of the situation which arose after the erection of the sandstone railing and the *Vajrāsana-gandhakuṭi* by Kuraṅgi. The interest of the carving just lies in the evidence it bears to the development of the idea of a highly ornamented quadrangular railing from a commonly seen enclosure of a tree [Fig. 13].

The Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka presents an artistic situation of the Bo-tree, which in its general outline appears to be a near approach to the actual. It tells us that an ancient king of Kaliṅga caused a pillar of golden hue to be set up, 18 cubits high, on the site of the Bo-tree, a jewelled altar to be made in front of the Bo, and a railing to be erected on a cemented plinth around the Bo, with a gate-chamber at the entrance[1]. The reader will at once notice that it is not at all clear from this whether the enclosure is circular or quadrangular in shape, and, further, that the earlier railing at Bodh-Gayā was provided with a simple gateway at the entrance on the east side, which was far from being a gate-chamber.

The Jātaka speaka of a similar artistic situation of the Bo-tree, which sprang on the site of the Jetavana monastery. An imaginary representation of such a situation in one of the Barhut carvings goes to show that it differed in many respects from the actual situation at Bodh-Gayā. In the Buddhist carving of the 2nd century B.C. we see the Bo-tree *Aśvattha* represented with an ornamented Diamond-throne in front and an Aśokan monolith standing with an elephant capital on the proper left side of the Bo and just outside the circular railing enclosing the Bo with a dome-shaped roof. The tree stands out prominently with its beautiful foliage piercing through this roof. The railing is provided with arched gate-chambers on four sides, three of them only being exposed to view. It will be noticed that here the main construction follows the model of a dome-shaped *stūpa* with a circular railing ornament at the base[2].

Let us see if we can attain any better result by examining the well-known Barhut carving representing a scene of enlightenment of Buddha Śākyamuni. Here, too, a typical Aśokan monolith is made[3] to stand with an elephant capital to the proper left of the Bo-tree and aside in front of it and outside a circular railing. The enclosure appears to be an arched gallery with a circular railing ornament at the base and a row of arched niches adorning its body. The gallery rests upon a colonnade of tall pillars having octagonal shafts and brackets at their tops. The whole construction is provided with an open-pillared square hall with a galleried roof, which serves the double purpose of a Diamond-throne-temple, and a gate chamber[1] [Fig. 11]. It is not a fact that the colonnade of the main construction is composed of 32 pillars[2]. Cunningham took it, however, to be a faithful representation of an actual state of things. We entirely agree with Dr. Bloch in thinking that it is nothing but an imaginary construction[3]. We should not imagine any other historical connexion between the Barhut scene and the actual artistic situation at Bodh-Gayā than this that the former is the conceivable source of inspiration at the back of the latter.

---

[1] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. p. 236: *Bodhimaṇḍe aṭṭhārasahatthaṃ suvaṇṇathambhaṃ ussāpesi*, tassa *sattaratanamayaṃ vedikaṃ kārāpesi, ratana-missaka-vālikaṃ okiritvā pākāra-parikkhepaṃ kāresi, sattaratanamayaṃ dvāra-koṭṭhakaṃ kāresi.*

[2] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol-IV. p. 238.

[3] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. III, Fig. 2.

The difference between the two lotus designs in the two sets of coping-stones [Fig. 14] needs an explanation. It may be either due to two different patterns followed by the craftsmen who worked together at the same time or due to the fact that one pattern was produced at the time of first erection and the other at the time of first repair. The idea of a repair, which took place within half a century from the date of first construction is suggested, as we shall see in Book III, also by the difference, however slight, in letter-forms between the inscriptions of Kuraṅgi, Sirimā and, Nāgadevī on the pillars and coping-stones on the one hand and those of Amogha, Bodhirakhita and another donor on three of the rail-bars on the other. If it be reasonable to maintain that the rail-bars were all uninscribed when the railing was first erected, we have no other alternative but to say that the inscribed rail-bars were additions made at the time of first repair. As regards the two sets of coping-stones, it seems that the earlier set was composed of those pieces in which the five varieties of lotus do not trench upon each other but are found closely juxtaposed. At all events, this is the set which comprises the two coping-stones bearing the joint inscriptions of Kuraṅgi and Sirimā.

4. PRĀCHĪNA VAJRĀSANA-GANDHAKUṬI

THE OLD DIAMOND-THRONE-TEMPLE

During repairs of the present temple at Bodh-Gayā Cunningham found out three distinct layers in the flooring of its main chamber on the ground floor, the upper layer being represented by a granite pavement, the middle layer by a pavement of sandstone, and the lower layer by a plaster floor. Inside this chamber he found a basalt throne with ten ornamented pilasters in front,—the throne of which the blue stone facing stood on the granite pavement. Removing this pavement he was able to discover a second throne behind the first with four pilasters in front, and it showed a plaster facing "much broken and shattered"[1]". Removing this plaster facing of the second throne he succeeded in discovering a ball of stiff earth or clay, which on being broken yelded the following relics :—

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl . III, Fig. I.

[2] Bloch's *Notes on Bodh-Gayā* pp. 145-146.

[3] Bloch's *Notes on Bodh-Gayā*, p. 146.

GOLD—2 impressions in thin gold of the obverse face of a gold coin of Huvishka, joined together, and held by a ring.
1 crescent of thin gold, 0.6 inch broad.
4 flowers, 0.75 inch, with a pale sapphire in centre of each.
3 shells, 0.6 inch long.
4 Kamarak fruits, 0.2 inch broad.
5 buttons, or knobs, 0.45 inch broad
26 large discs, 37.5 grains, or 1.44 each.
29 small discs, 11 grains, 0.38 each.

SILVER—5 punch-marked coins, one with human figures, besides many small shapeless fragments.
1 thin hemisphere.
27 large discs.
14 small discs.

GEMS—145 Pearls, small, all black with age. Corals, pale ; about 3 table spoons of bits and several coral shell ornaments. Crystals, numerous fragments, all uncut. Sapphires, small fragments, valueless. Emeralds, small fragments, valueless[1].

Removing the whole of the plaster from the sandstone front he made a startling discovery of a third throne of polished sandstone behind the second with four pilasters in front [Fig. 21], precisely as it was designed in the Barhut carving representing a great scene of Buddha Śākyamuni's enlightenment *(Bhagavato Sākamunino bodho)*[2]. He discovered also two pillar-bases *in situ,* "one on each side of the sandstone throne, at equal distances from ends". These pillar-bases were found to be "10 feet $9^1/_2$ inches apart from centre to centre". The pillars having been about 1 foot in diameter, "the length of the architrave which covered them could not have been less than 12 feet."

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, pp. 18-19. See *Ibid,* Pl. XXII.
[2] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 20.

The bases showed that each of the two pillars had an octagonal shaft above a pedestal with a pot or vase ornament at the top of a gradation of steps. The southern base was hidden partly under the southern wall of the chamber, "while the northern one was quite clear of the northern wall".

A third pillar-base was discovered "near the north-east corner of the present chamber, but not actually *in situ*". This last discovery made by Cunningham is important as showing that a canopy or covering roof over the sandstone throne was supported by four pilasters. What sort of canopy it was, flat or gabled, we cannot say. The model supplied in the Barhut carving referred to above shows, no doubt, a gabled roof resting precisely on four small pillars, each of which has an octagonal shaft as distinguished from a cylindrical one, and a lotus or bell capital with a bracket ornament on the top, there being nothing in common but the lotus or bell capital between these pillars and the Aśokan monoliths.

The polished sandstone throne and the small sanctuary of four pilasters containing it belonged not to the present temple but to a far earlier shrine, which might be appropriately described as *Prāchina Vajrāsana-gandhakuṭi* or the Old Diamond-throne Chamber [Fig. 21]. As regards the position of this throne and the open pillared chamber or hall of worship, Cunningham would seem perfectly justified in thinking that these stood just in front and to the east of the original Bo-tree and on a central spot within a stone-enclosure surrounding the great Bo. The Old Diamond-throne Chamber is indeed the earliest known structure which suggested the idea of a miniature Bodh-Gayā temple. This is undoubtedly one of the two earlier sanctuaries that had to be partly demolished at the time of erection of the great temple at Bodh-Gayā.

Hwen Thsang says: "On the site of the present *vihāra* (temple) Aśoka-rāja at first built a small *vihāra* (sanctuary). Afterwards there was a Brāhman who reconstructed it on a larger scale."[1]. Whatever the later tradition regarding the builder of the ancient Diamond-throne hall, it does not seem to be a fact that the sanctuary was actually built by King Aśoka. The credit of construction of the sanctuary must be given rather to the Noble Lady and Matron Kuraṅgi, the elderly wife of King Kauśikīputra Indrāgnimitra, than to any other person. There is no other relic of Aśokan art in this sanctuary than a highly polished sandstone slab serving as the lower cover for the ancient Diamond-throne[2]. The upper covering slab is decidedly a work of a later age.

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol, II, p. 119.

[2] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. VI.

It is equally important to note that the upper sandstone slab of the ancient Diamond-throne was removed from its original position and made to form a cover for a new throne standing outside and against the back wall of the present temple. In this outer *vajrāsana* the sandstone slab rests on "a brick platform 3 feet 4 inches in height", which is "ornamented with boldly moulded figures of men and lions of very early work". The round faces, the full lips and easy pose of these figures are the characteristic features that have led Cunningham to assign the pedestal of the outer throne of brick "to the time of the later Indo-Scythians and earlier Guptas"[1]. But it is inconceivable that one would think of constructing the outer throne to the west of the ancient *vajrāsana* till it was felt necessary to provide the site with a new altar after erection of the present temple.

An idea of the probable date of the old Diamond-throne may be formed from the style of writing of a votive inscription appearing on the narrow edges of the upper surface of the covering sandstone slab[2]. The letter-forms of this inscription go to connect it rather with the inscriptions of Kuraṅgi and Sirimā on the coping-stones of the Bodh-Gayā railing than with those assignable to the Indo-Scythian period. Though this inscription is mutilated and many of its letters are effaced and have become illegible, the concluding part of it which can still somehow be read suffices to show that it was intended to record the ancient Sandstone throne as a precious gift of a donor, male or female, who was actuated by the noble desire of doing a work of merit for the benefit of his or her parents, for the benefit of his or her progeny *(pajāye)*, and, as it might be, for the uplift of the whole of sentient creation.

The dislocated upper slab of the grey sandstone throne, is "7 feet 10$^1/_2$ inches long by 4 feet 7$^1/_2$ inches broad, and 6$^1/_2$ inches thick". The whole surface is "carved with geometrical patterns, circular in the middle, with a double border of squares", and all the four outer faces are "richly carved with pigeons and the conventional acanthus flowers and the geese of Asoka's pillar capitals"[3]. Strictly speaking, one face is carved with a row of acanthus flowers and the opposite face with a row in which the acanthus flowers are alternated by pigeons, while the remaining two faces are ornamented with similar rows or bands, in which acanthus flowers and geese alternate each other [Fig. 22]. The ornamental device itself is highly significant as indicating that it is a handiwork of an age which was about the beginning of the Christian era and associated till then with the tradition of art of the Śuṅga period, when, as clearly borne out by certain exhibits in the Sarnath Museum[1], definite efforts were made to imitate the workmanship of Aśokan art. The meaning of the symbolism, too, is not far to seek. The geese or swans stand out as an emblem of emancipation[2] and the pigeons that of attachment or bondage[3].

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 20.
[2] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. X. II.
[3] Cunningham's Mahābodhi p. 19.

A *vajrāsana* is but an artistic representation of the manner in which the Buddha stationed himself at the foot of the Bo-tree and under its shade with the firm determination not to move an inch from his seat until his efforts were finally crowned with success, and not to leave it even if his whole body withered and perished, and his skin, bones and flesh underwent dissolution[4], even if the sky rent asunder or the earth left her fixed station (*nabham phaleyya, pathaviṃ chaleyya*). It is a representation of that seat unmoved and unshaken, remaining seated upon which the Buddha vanquished the powerful forces of Māra the tempter, and gained an unsurpassed victory over them and attained Buddhahood. It is known as *sabba-buddhānaṃ jaya-pallanka* or a cross-legged seat of victory of all the Buddhas. It is venerated by the votaries of the Buddha also as a *Bodhi-maṇḍa* serving as a navel of the earth or the centre of the cultured universe[5]. In a word, a Diamond-throne symbolises the enthronement of a triumphant human will to do or die, to conquer and transcend.

We have the following exaggerated and semi-allegorical description of the so-called Diamond-throne from the pen of Hwen Thsang, who is the greatest known Chinese pilgrim :

"In the middle of the enclosure surrounding the Bodhi-tree is the Diamond-throne (*Vajrāsana*). In former days, when the Bhadrakalpa was arriving at the period of perfection *(vivartta)*, when the great earth arose, this (throne) also appeared. It is in the middle of the great *chiliocosm*, it goes down to the limits of the golden wheel (the gold circle), and upwards it is flush with the ground. It is composed of diamond. In circuit it is 100 paces or so. On this the thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa have sat and entered the Diamond *samādhi ;* hence the name of the Diamond-throne.

---

[1] *Catalogue of the Sarnath Museum*,

[2] Cf. the *Dhammapada* phrases : *haṃsādichchapathe yanti ; haṃso va pallalaṃ hitvā. Haṃsa* and *Paramahaṃsa* are employed in the Upanishads and other Brahmanical works as designations for two ranks of emancipated souls.

[3] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 300 : *rāgah pārāvatākāreṇa kartavyah.*

[4] *Lalitavistara* (Mitra's edition), *Ihāsane śushyatu me śarīraṃ, tag-asti-māṃsaṃ pralayañ cha yātu* | *Aprāpya bodhiṃ bahukalpa-durlabhāṃ naivāsanāt kāyam etat chalishyate* ||

[5] *Kālingabodhi-Jātaka* (Fausböll, NO. 479).

It is the place where the Buddhas attain the holy path (the sacred way of Buddhahood). It is also called the *Bodhimaṇḍa.* When the great earth is shaken, this place alone is unmoved.......After *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, the rulers of the different countries having learned by tradition the measurement of the Diamond-throne, decided the limits from north to south by two figures of Kwan-tsz-tsai (Avalokiteśvara) Bodhisattva, there seated and looking eastward"[1].

The account left by Fa Hian, the earlier Chinese pilgrim, is a simple description. The foot of the Bo-tree is just one of those sacred spots at Bodh-Gayā on which "men in after times raised towers (shrines) and placed figures (of Buddha)"[2]. The old Diamond-throne at Bodh-Gayā would seem to have been constructed on the model of a design in the Barhut carving referred to above. This throne, precisely as in the Barhut artistic design[3], is a cubical seat of stone serving the purpose of an altar (*pāshāṇa-vedikā, ratna-vedikā)* for making offerings by the worshippers in honour of the Buddha. It has two covering slabs, one placed over the other, the lower one being a highly polished plain slab and the upper one showing the geometrical patterns as an ornamental feature of its upper surface, and both resting on a square framework of eight small pillars, four on the front side and four on the back. One minor point of difference is that in the Bodh-Gayā throne the pillars, as they stand in a row, do not allow their brackets at the top to touch one another so as to produce the effect of a sharply arched entrance.

5. ANIMESHA-CHAITYA

THE FIXED-GAZE-SHRINE

The historic spot on which the Buddha is said to have spent the second week after his enlightenment (the third week according to some authorities[3]), standing with his gaze fixed upon the scene of victory at the foot of the Bo-tree became noted as the site of the *Animisa-chetiya* or Fixed-gaze-shrine[4]. This is one of the spots on which, as Fa Hian points out, "men in after times raised towers (? shrines) and placed figures (of Buddha)"[5]. The Jātaka Nidāna-kathā locates it at a short distance towards the north-east from the Bo[6]. Hwen Thsang furnishes us with the following information regarding this sanctuary :

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records* Vol. II, p. 116.

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lxiii.

[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lxiii and Vol. II, p. 123.

[4] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 78 : *Taṃ ṭhānaṃ Animisa-chetiyaṃ nāma jātaṃ.*

[5] Beal's *Buddhist Records* Vol. I, p. lxiii.

[6] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 78 : *Pallankato īsakaṃ pāchīna-nissitena uttara-disābhāgena.*

"On the left side of the road, to the north of the place where Buddha walked, is a large stone (? mound), on the top of which, as it stands in a great *vihāra* (shrine), is a figure of Buddha with his eyes raised and looking up. Here in former times Buddha sat for seven days contemplating the *Bodhi*-tree; he did not remove his gaze from it during this period, desiring thereby to indicate his grateful feelings towards the tree by so looking at it with fixed eyes"[1].

The location suggested by the great Chinese pilgrim holds true of the existing temple which stands on a hillock-like mound and looks like a brick-built tower with its narrow arched entrance on the east side. The image enshrined in it is a standing figure of the Buddha, the form of whose eyes is suggestive of the attitude of a steadfast gaze.

6. RATNA-CHAṄKRAMA-CHAITYA

THE JEWEL-WALK-SHRINE

The *Ratna-chaṅkrama* or Jewel-walk is the familiar honorific expression coined by the Buddhist teachers of old to designate the sacred spot close to the Bo-tree at Bodh-Gayā where the Buddha spent the third week[2] (the second week according to some authorities[3]), after his enlightenment meditatively walking to and fro, ('backwards and forwards' as Fa Hian puts it), from west to east and from east to west. The sanctuary built over this spot to commemorate this notable incident of the Buddha's life has been popularly known by the name of *Ratna-chaṅkrama-chaitya*, the "Jewel-walk-shrine"[4].

Regarding the position of the Jewel-walk all the authorities agree, as pointed out by Cunningham, in locating it to the north of the Bo-tree and midway between the Bo-tree and the shrine commemorative of the spot of the Buddha's fixed gaze (*Animesha-chaitya*)[5]. The Jewel-walk was necessarily a limited space, bounded that it was by a few foot-traces within a few paces. According to Hwen Thsang, it was bounded by "foot-traces to the number of eighteen" within "a distance of 10 paces or so". Obviously "ten paces" in the Chinese pilgrim's account is a mistake for twenty for the simple reason that the length of the space marked by a line of eighteen foot-traces can be measured by no less than seventeen paces. It is impossible that such a space could be measured by ten paces or 25 feet. There could not be a mistake concerning the total number of foot-traces in view of the fact that the Chinese pilgrim was well aware of the later Buddhist legend according to which "miraculous flowers sprang up under the Buddha's foot-traces to the number of eighteen". Cunningham is, therefore, justified in correcting the pilgrim's "ten" to "20 paces or 50 feet", which would agree with the actual length, 53 feet, of the terraced walk that still exists bearing upon it the representations of eighteen lotus flowers[1], which is to say, of eighteen foot-traces of the Buddha.

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 123.

[2] *Jātaka-Nidāna-kathā*, Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 77.

[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lxiii, Vol. II, p. 122.

[4] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 78.

[5] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 122.

In one of the Barhut bas-reliefs we come across an interesting design of the Jewel-walk-shrine [Fig. 23]. Here the shrine figures as a sanctuary consisting of an ornamented platform and an open-pillared hall with a gabled roof. The platform appears as a raised terrace, which is extended lengthwise inside the hall between its rows of pillars. Its front face is uniformly embossed with a row of human hands, the palms only being shown. It is easy to conjecture that its back face, too, is similarly embossed. What these hands are meant to indicate is a question upon which opinions are bound to differ. But upon the whole, these are the three possible explanations of the hand-marks : (1) that these are to indicate that the platform is set up as an elongated altar for worship ; (2) that these are to ask the visitors to keep themselves at a respectable distance from it ; and (3) that these are to signify the merit of worship whereby the worshippers might secure the boon of immunity from all fears (*abhaya*). As Cunningham suggests, "the flowers carved on the top are intended to mark the spots of Buddha's footprints", and "they are placed in two rows, apparently to show the right and left footsteps"[2]. The platform itself represents the Jewel-walk.

The open-pillared hall presents five pillars in the front row and five in the back, each of the pillars having an octagonal shaft, a lotus or bell capital and a bracket. The upper structure gives a front-view of three small sanctuaries confronted by a railing and provided each with an ornamented arch-entrance, and it is covered by a gabled roof with a number of small pinnacles.

It may be boldly asserted that the Barhut carving supplies us with an artistic design of the sanctuary which was actually built on the spot of the Buddha's Jewel-walk at Bodh-Gayā prior to the visit of Hwen Thsang, prior to the erection of the present temple, prior to the visit of Fa Hian. The series of interesting discoveries made by Cunningham and his able assistant Mr. Beglar during the repairs of the temple is sufficient to prove that the Bodh-Gayā sanctuary, too, consisted of an ornamented platform and a pillared hall or cloister, roofed over by a canopy.

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi.*, p. 8.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 10.

It is evident from a statement in the Jātaka-Nidāna-kathā that at least as early as the 5th century A. D., the holy spot of the Buddha's seven days' walk became famous as the site of the *Ratana-chaṅkama-chetiya* or Jewel walk-shrine[1]. This sanctuary must have come into existence even long before Fa Hian's visit in the early part of the 5th century A.D. According to Fa Hian, the place where the Buddha walked backwards and forwards for seven days after his enlightenment is one of those select spots on which "men in after times raised towers (? shrines) and placed figures (of Buddha")[2]. But unfortunately, neither the Jātaka-Nidāna-kathā nor Fa Hian's Fo-Kwo-Ki gives details of the Jewel-walk shrine.

All that now remains of this ancient shrine consists of (1) a terraced walk, which is extended from west to east in the northern courtyard of the present temple and close to its northern wall, and (2) two rows of fixed pillar-bases and a pillar-shaft [Fig. 24].

The terraced walk which is nothing but a platform of brick is "53 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches broad, and a little more than 3 feet in height" [3]. It bears upon its upper surface 18 lotus flowers, each representing serially a distinct footprint of the Buddha. This is precisely the structure seen by Hwen Thsang at the time of his visit[4].

Hwen Thsang has nothing whatever to say regarding the main structure of the shrine which had to be dismantled and was seriously damaged at the time of the erection of the present temple. But it cannot at all be doubted that, precisely as in the Barhut sculpture referred to above, the terraced walk was enshrined inside an open-pillared hall canopied by a flat or gabled roof.

The roof rested upon two rows of posts, eleven in each row, counted from west to east. Each of the posts was an ornamented stone-pillar nailed into a fixed circular base with a square mortice on the top. Each of the fixed pillar-bases stood as an example of what is called *udūkhala-pāsāṇa* in

---

[1] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 17-18: *Atha pallaṅkassa cha ṭhitaṭṭhānassa cha antarā chaṅkamaṃ māpetvā puratthima-pachchhimato āyate Ratana-chaṅkame chaṅkamanto sattāhaṃ vītināmesi. Taṃ ṭhānaṃ Ratana-chaṅkama-chetiyaṃ nāma jātaṃ.*

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lxiii.

[3] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 8.

[4] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 122-123.

Pāli. The pillars and the fixed bases in the southern row were serially marked by eleven Brāhmī vowel letters and those in the northern row by eleven Brāhmī letters representing the first eleven consonants. The letter-marks were to indicate which of the pillars was to be fitted into which of the fixed bases. The bases on the south side of the walk were found "partly hidden under the basement of the great temple which had been built over them, on a slightly different alignment, part of the two most westerly bases appearing 7 inches outside the wall, while all the easterly bases were completely covered. The bases belonging to the northern row are still *in situ.* Just one out of twenty-two pillars now survives in five fragments, namely, the pillar set upon the most westerly base of the southern row bearing the letter *a*. The main fragment shows "an octagonal shaft with a female figure on it". The remaining four fragments of the upper paraphernalia were discovered, one representing the middle portion of the lotus or bell capital, another the lower portion of two crouchant lions, the third the head of one of the lions, and the fourth the middle part of the bracket,—of an "oblong abacus" as Cunningham calls it [Figs. 25 (a), 25 (b)].

As regards these pillars and their fixed bases, we can say indeed with Cunningham : "The bases have the same globular tops, standing on a series of small steps. The shafts are octagonal, and the capitals have the usual bell-shaped tops, supporting a pair of recumbent animals placed side by side, with their faces outwards. Above their backs springs a conventional flowered ornament, which supports an oblong abacus (*i.e.*, the bracket). A good specimen of this style may be seen in the gateway" pillars of the Bharhut Stūpa". We must also agree with him in thinking "that only the four corner-pillars had sculptures upon them and that all the others being simple octagonal shafts, were carried off after the fall [better, removal] of the canopy, and used for other buildings[1]".

It is most likely that this shed-like and pillared shrine of sandstone bore somewhere upon it one or more inscriptions recording the name of the person or persons whose munificence had brought it into existence. The inscribed record or records being now missing, we have no data for guessing the true age of the structure other than the style of architecture, the material used and the form of the Brāhmī letter-marks on some of the fixed pillar-bases and a surviving pillar-shaft. And judging by these three criteria, we cannot but take the shrine to rank in age with the old Stone-railing, and to figure as another lingering expression of female devotional piety immortalising the name of the Noble Lady and Matron Kuraṅgi.

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, pp. 8-9.

7. RATNAGṚIHA-CHAITYA

THE-JEWEL-HOUSE-SHRINE

The historic spot on which the Buddha remained seated cross-legged and spent the fourth week after his enlightenment formulating the *abhidhamma-naya* or higher method of exposition of his doctrines became noted as the site of a sanctuary called *Ratanaghara-chetiya* or Jewel-house-shrine[1]. In accordance with the tradition of the Ābhidhammikas, the fourth week was spent in a picturesque chamber-like natural formation of stone, which was believed to have been improvised by the gods or celestial architects[2]. The site is mentioned by Fa Hian as one of those historic spots on which "men in after times raised towers (? shrines) and placed figures (of Buddha)".[3] Regarding this site and the sanctuary Hwen Thsang has left the following interesting account :—

"Not far to the west of the *Bodhi*-tree is a large *vihāra* (shrine), in which is a figure of Buddha made of *teou-shih* (brass), ornamented with rare jewels ; he stands with his face to the east. Before it is a blue stone with wonderful marks upon it and strangely figured. This is the place where Buddha sat on a seven-gemmed throne made by Śakra Devarāja when Brahmarāja built a hall for him with precious substances, after he had arrived at complete enlightenment..........From the time of the Holy One till the present is so long that the gems have changed into stone"[4].

Taking guidance from this account, Cunningham looked for the site of the Jewel-house shrine somewhere to the south-west of the Bo-tree and chanced upon "the basement of a very large temple of early date"[5]. This basement corresponds, as he seems to think, with the site of the large *vihāra* mentioned by Hwen Thsang, and even he goes so far as to suggest that the strangely figured blue stone serving as an altar before the standing figure of the Buddha might be believed to be "still in existence in the temple of Vāgeswari Devi, to the east of the great Temple" [6].

It is important here to note that the location of the site in question, as suggested by Hwen Thsang and identified by Cunningham, does not tally with that which is indicated in the Jātaka Nidāna-Kathā. The Pāli authority which embodies an earlier Buddhist tradition definitely leads us to look for the site somewhere to the north-west of the Bo-tree[1], and the modern Buddhist pilgrims, too, identify the Jewel-house-shrine with a small nubical chamber of sandstone with its entrance on the north side.—a very crude structure from the point of view of architecture.

---

[1] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 77 : *Taṃ ṭhānaṃ Ratanaghara-chetiyaṃ nāma jātaṃ.*

[2] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol-I. p. 77 : *Devatā Ratanagharaṃ māpayiṃsu.*

[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lxiii.

[4] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 123.

[5] Cunningham's *mahābodhi*, Pl. XVIII. Fig. F.

[6] Cunningham's *mahābodhi*, p. 35.

8. AJAPĀLA-NYAGRODHA-MŪLA-CHAITYA

THE SHRINE UNDER THE NEAT-HERD'S BANYAN

The Ajapāla-Nyagrodha is the famous Neat-herd's Banyan under which the Buddha is said to have spent the fifth week after his enlightenment, and its shade is the sacred spot where Brahmā, the benign Brahmanical deity, waited upon the newly enlightened Master and persuaded him to promulgate his doctrines for the good of all. This tree, as its name implies, may have served with a square stone-seat at its foot as a retreat for the neat-herds of the locality. It is clear from all the descriptions that the tree could not be situated far from the Bo. The place is mentioned by Fa Hian in general terms as one of the historic spots on which "men in after times raised towers (? shrines) and placed figures (of Buddha)"[2]. Hwen Thsang locates the site at the south-east angle of the outer wall of the sacred area of the Bo-tree where he saw a commemorative *stūpa* by the side of a banyan tree[3]. Beside it there was a *vihāra* (temple) with a sitting figure of the Buddha installed in it.

9. RĀJĀYATANA-MŪLA-CHAITYA

THE SHRINE UNDER THE RĀJĀYATANA TREE

The Rājāyatana is the tree of royal dimension under which the Buddha is said to have spent the sixth week after his enlightenment experiencing the bliss of emancipation. This is again the tree under which the newly enlightened Master was waited upon by two caravan merchants, Trapusha and Bhalluka, and presented by them with "perched corn and honey". It is through an oversight that the tree has been represented in Book I as a banyan[4]. The place is mentioned by Fa Hian as one of the historic spots on which "men in after times raised towers (? shrines) and placed figures (of Buddha)"[1]. Hwen Thsang locates it beside the place where the Bodhisattva received the rice-milk from the hands of Sujātā, and says that he saw a commemorative *stūpa* built on the site.

---

[1] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 77 : *Bodhito pachchhimuttara-disābhāge devatā Ratanagharaṃ māpayiṃsu.*

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. Lxiii.

[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 126.
Cf. Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. XVIII, Fig. XL.

[4] Book I, p. 254.

10. MUCHALINDA-MŪLA-CHAITYA

THE SHRINE UNDER THE MUCHALINDA TREE

Muchalinda occurs as the name of a tank or pool, of a tree on the bank of this tank. and of a powerful Dragon-king who became a dweller of the place. The Muchalinda is the tree at the foot of which the Buddha is said to have spent the seventh week after his enlightenment, being protected by a large coil and hood of the Dragon-king. It is through an oversight that the tree has been represented as a banyan[2]. The Sudhābhojana-Jātaka enables us to distinguish it from both the *Nyagrodha* and the *Aśvattha.* It would seem that the Muchalinda tree, noted for its sweet-scented flowers,[3] lent its name to the tank or pool on the bank of which it grew[4] as well as to the Dragon-king who found his abode at the place. The site is mentioned by Fa Hian as one of the historic spots on which "men in after times raised towers (? shrines) and placed figures (of Buddha)[5]".

Hwen Thsang locates it in the midst of a wood adjoining a lake, both of which lay to the east of the pond which Śakra caused to appear on the south side of and at some distance from the *Buddha Pokhar* excavated by a Brahmin votary of Śiva-Maheśvara on the south side of the Bodh-Gayā temple. The water of "the lake of the Nāga-king Muchalinda" was of a dark blue colour at the time of his visit, and its taste was sweet and pleasant. He saw a figure of the Buddha installed in a small *vihāra* (temple) on the west bank of the lake just mentioned[6].

The statue of the Buddha found on the site is a seated figure that bears an inscription on its back recording the familiar Buddhist creed : *Ye dharmāh hetuprabhavāh*, etc[7]. "The sculpture is injured, and the inscription...... ...is incomplete, but the letters *t*, *th*, and *r* are certainly as old as the end of the 5th century"[1]. If this statue be the figure of the Buddha seen by Fa Hian on the spot, we cannot but assign it to a date earlier than than the 5th century.

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lxiii.

[2] Book I, p. 254.

[3] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. V, p. 405.
Supuññagandhā Muchalinda-ketakā ||

[4] Cf. *Sumuchalindasaratīre* in Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 582.

[5] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lxiii.

[6] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 127-128.

[7] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. XXVII, Fig. E.

11. OTHER SHRINES MENTIONED BY FA HIAN

Fa Hian has mentioned the place where the Bodhisattva inflicted on himself mortification for six years, the place where the four heavenly kings respectfully offered the alms-bowl to the newly enlightened Master and the place where the Buddha converted the Kāśyapas, elder and younger brothers, and their thousand disciples as the three remaining spots on which "men in after times raised towers (? shrines) and placed figures (of Buddha)"[2].

The place of six years' fruitless penances is located by Hwen Thsang near the Muchalinda tank. He saw a commemorative *stūpa* erected by the side of a Pippala tree, which marked out the holy site[3].

The place where the four heavenly kings offered the alms-bowl was situated, according to Hwen Thsang, by the side of the merchant-offering place. He saw a *stūpa* erected as a memorial shrine on the historic spot[4].

Not far from the last-mentioned spot was the place of conversion of the Kāśyapa brothers and their Jaṭila followers, where Hwen Thsang noticed a *stūpa* commemorating the sacred site[5].

12. FA HIAN'S THREE MONASTARIES

HWEN THSANG'S MAHĀBODHI-SAṄGHĀRĀMA

Fa Hian has noticed three monasteries in the neighbourhood of the Bo-tree, in all of which Buddhist monks were accommodated. The local lay supporters supplied them with all that they needed, so that there was no lack of anything. The monks scrupulously observed the rules of the Vinaya with respect to decorum, which related to sitting down, rising up, or entering the assembly,—the rules which the holy congregation had observed even during the Buddha's life-time[6].

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 55.
[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lxiii.
[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 128.
[4] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 129.
[5] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 130.
[6] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lxiii.

Instead of three *saṅghārāmas*, Hwen Thsang speaks just of one large monastic abode called *Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma*, which was built by a former king of Ceylon and which he found in existence outside the northern gate of the (outer) wall of the Bodhi-tree. The edifice had six halls, with towers of observation (temple towers) of three storeys. It was surrounded by a wall of defence, 30 or 40 feet high. The utmost skill of the artist had been employed; the ornamentation was in the richest colours (red and blue). The statue of Buddha was cast of gold and silver, decorated with gems and precious stones. The *stūpas* were high and large in proportion, and beautifully ornamented; they contained relics of Buddha. The bone relics were as big as fingers of the hand, shining and smooth, of a purple colour and translucent. The flesh relics were like true pearl, of a bluish red tint. Every year on the full-moon day of the month of *Vaiśākha* (April-May) and in celebration of the anniversary of the day of Tathāgata's enlightenment those relics were taken out for public exhibition. The inmates of the monastic abode were more than 1,000 monks; they studied the Great Vehicle and belonged to the Sthavira school. They carefully observed the Dharma-Vinaya, and their conduct was pure and correct[1]. Every year when the *bhikshus* broke up their yearly rest of the rains, religious persons came there from every quarter in thousands and myriads, and during seven days and nights they scattered flowers, burnt incense, and sounded music as they wandered through the locality and paid their worship and presented their offerings. Those Buddhist priests of India used to enter on *Wass* (yearly rest of the rains) on the first day of the month of *Śrāvaṇa* (July-August) and give up their retreat on the 15th day of the month of *Aśvina* (Sept.-Oct.), which corresponded with the Chinese 15th day of the eight month[2].

The Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma entertained many Buddhist priests of Ceylon, and, as a matter of fact, it was solely tenanted at the time of Hwen Thang's visit by the *bhikshus* representing the Buddhist Fraternity of Ceylon,—of Siṃhala, which was known to the great Chinese pilgrim as 'a country of the southern sea'[3]. None need be astonished at this, because, as the illustrious Chinese traveller informs us, the *saṅghārāma* was built by a former king of Ceylon with the express purpose of providing the Buddhist monks of his country desiring either to travel or reside in India with a suitable retreat[4]. It appears that this famous monastic abode was provided with an inscription standing, as it did, as a durable royal record or edict and communicating the purpose for which the costly and laudable work of erection had been undertaken by the pious king of Ceylon. It may be interesting to reproduce below the contents of this otherwise irrevocably lost inscription as represented by Hwen Thsang :

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 133.

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 135-6.

[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. 11, p. 133.

[4] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 43 : "The Vajrāsan Mahābodhi Monastery is mentioned again

"To help all without distinction is the highest teaching of all the Buddhas ; to exercise mercy as occasion arises is the illustrious doctrine of former saints. And I, an unworthy descendant in the royal line, have tried to found this *saṅghārāma*, to enclose the sacred traces, and to hand down their renown to future ages and spread their benefits among the people. The priests of my country will thus obtain independence, and be treated as members of the fraternity of this country. Let this privilege be handed down from generation to generation without interruption"[1].

The circumstances that led the king of Ceylon to think of making a permanent retreat for the Buddhist monks of his country and to select Bodh-Gayā as a proper site for it in preference to other places sacred to Buddhism are well described by Hwen Thsang. It happened that a brother of this king, who had become a disciple of Buddha, went forth to wander through India, with his mind intent on the holy traces of Buddha. At all the monasteries he visited, he was treated with disdain as a foreigner. On his return to Ceylon he reported the matter to the king urging the latter to undertake to build monasteries throughout India to remove the difficulty he experienced in the wav of a pilgrim from Ceylon visiting the holy places in India. "I", said the *Sramaṇa*, "relying on the dignity of your Majesty's kingdom, went forth to visit the world, and to find my way through distant regions and strange cities. For many years all my travels, during heat and cold, have been attended with outrage, and my words have been met with insults and sarcasm. Having endured these afflictions, how can I be light-hearted ?"

Thus moved to pity, the king of Ceylon sent valuable presents by way of a tribute to the then reigning king of India (*Mahā-Srīrāja*) and asked the latter through his messengers, headed by his brother, to be pleased to grant him permission to build monasteries throughout India for the entertainment of the pilgrims from his country, treated there as strangers. His Majesty the Great King of India gladly permitted the king of Ceylon to

---

about A. D. 670, by the pilgrim Hwi Lun, as the same as the one built by a king of Ceylon, in which priests of that country formerly dwelt".

[1] Beal's *Budhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 135.

build such a monastery in one of the places of importance to the Buddhists. Thereupon the king of Ceylon conferred with the *Sramaṇas* of his kingdom and deliberated as to the selection of the place for the erection of the monastery and selected Bodh-Gayā,—as it was in the opinion of all of them the most important place[1].

Hwen Thsang mentions neither the name of the king of Ceylon nor that of his brother who acted as the principal emissary, nor even that of the contemporary great king of India. The Chinese historian Wang Hiuen-t'se, writing his account in about the middle of the 7th century A. D., incidentally refers to the fact of despatch of two distinguished Buddhist monks, Mahānāma and Upa (sena ?) by name, with valuable presents by King Meghavarmā (Meghavarṇa) of Ceylon as envoys to King Samudragupta of India for the latter's permission to build fhe monastery at Bodh-Gayā for the accommodation of the Ceylonese Buddhist monks[2]. If we go by this interesting Chinese account, there can be little doubt that it is King Samudragupta who granted the permission and that it is during his reign, in the early part of the 4th century of the Christian era, that King Meghavarmā-Meghavarṇa of Ceylon erected the famous monastery at Bodh-Gayā. In point of fact, the historical importance of the information furnished by Wang Hiuen-t'se lies in this that it enables us to establish beyond doubt another contemporaneity between a king of Ceylon and a king of Northern India, we mean, one in addition to an earlier contemporaneity between King Devānāmpriya Tishya and King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśī Aśoka. If, as it seems, the Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma was one of the three monasteries seen by Fa-Hian at Bodh-Gayā in the beginning of the 5th century, it is quite probable that the famous monastery in question was built during the reign of King Samudragupta.

But so far as the names of two emissaries, Mahānāma and Upa-(sena), go, the Chinese writer must have somehow obtained them from the well-known inscription of Mahānāma II, dated Saṃvat 269 (=A. D. 587), and in this respect the Chinese account cannot but be taken to be guilty of anachronism and inaccuracy. Māhānāma II mentions Mahānāma I, Upasena I and Upasena II of Ceylon as his illustrious predecessors in the order of apostolic succession[3]; but it does not at all appear from this reference that any of his predecessors visited India at any time, or if so, when. One of the old Bodh-Gayā inscriptions goes indeed to prove that a pilgrim from Ceylon, who liked to have his name recorded as 'Bodhirakshita of Tāmraparṇi' (*Bodhirakhitasa Taṃbapaṃnakasa*), visited the Buddhist Holy Land in about the 1st century A. D., probably in company with Amogha and a few others, and donated a rail-bar in the ancient Stone-railing of Kuraṅgi[1], probably at the time of its minor repair. This early band of Ceylonese pilgrims were far from being contemporaries either of Meghavarṇa or of Samudragupta. We may take it that it is neither Bodhirakshita and Amogha nor Mahānāma I and Upasena I, but some other pilgrim or pilgrims on whose report King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon proceeded to build the monastery at Bodh-Gayā.

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p, 135.

[2] Book I, p. 195.

[3] Book I, pp. 184-5.

The position of the great monastery to the north of Bodh-Gayā temple may now be taken to correspond exactly with the extensive mound known as Amar Sinh's Fort. The lofty walls of the monastery, from 30 to 40 feet in height, would naturally have led to its occupation as a fort after the decline of Buddhism. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton would have us believe that the mound was called *Rājasthān*, or "the King's Residence", a name which is now confined to the group of buildings outside the north-west corner of the monastery enclosure. Other buildings at the north-east corner are also called *Rānivās*, or "the Qneen's Residence'. These names may refer, as Cunningham inclines to think, to the uncertain period of Amar Sinh's rule[2]. It would seem that these names really go back to a far earlier time. As some of the votive labels on the old Bodh-Gayā Stone-railing suggest, two monastic abodes were built by the Noble Lady and Matron Kuraṅgi to perpetuate the memory of her deceased husband King Kauśikīputra Indrāgnimitra, the abodes being referred to in the labels themselves as *Kosikipotrāsa Imdāgimitrāsa rājāpāsādā*, 'the Royal Palaces of Kauśikīputra Indrāgnimitra'[3]. One of these two abodes appears to have been used as a retreat for the monks ond the other as a residence of the queen herself in her retirement. These two earlier abodes together with the Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma built by the king of Ceylon must have made up the total of three monasteries seen by Fa Hian. If this hypothesis be sound, the two groups of buildings outside the north-west and north-east corners of the enclosure of the Ceylonese monastery would appear to be the surviving remnants of the two earlier abodes that were brought into existence by the munificence of Kuraṅgi.

We incline indeed to maintain that the Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma with its towers and enclosure was a separate erection, complete in itself.

---

[1] Book, I, pp. 181-2.

[2] Cunningham's *mahābodhi*, p. 43.

[3] Book III, Inscriptions, Nos. 16, 21-22.

In the mound which is from 1,500 to 2,000 feet in length from west to east, and nearly 1,000 feet in breadth from north to south Cunningham and Mr. Beglar discovered the remains of this great monastery, with outer walls 9 feet thick and massive round towers at the four corners. The enclosure was traced at a distance of about 100 feet all round. One tower of this enclosure is still standing on the west side in an old Muhammadan burial ground, and the outer lines of wall with the south-west tower are still traceable. There were four towers at the four corners, and three intermediate towers on each side making a total of 16 towers. The plan of the monastery was laid out in a diagram of squares, and it consisted of 36 squares, six on each side, of which the four corner squares were assigned to the corner towers, and the four middle squares to an open-pillared court containing a well. A long covered drain led from the well to the outside of the walls on the north-west, ending in a gargoyle spout in the shape of a large crocodile's head, of dark blue basalt, richly carved. The open courtyard in the middle was surrounded by a cloister supported on pillars, and on all four sides of the cloister there were small groups of cells. The floor of the monastery was level with the top of the plinth, and that of the courtyard outside was 5 feet 9 inches lower, or just 2 feet above the foot of the plinth [Fig. 26][1]. Efforts may yet be made by the Buddhists, if they so desire, to rebuild the great monastery with guidance from Cunningham's graphic description thereof.

13. MAHĀBODHI-VIHĀRA

THE GREAT BODH-GAYĀ TEMPLE.

It is by the name of *Mahābodhi-Vihāra* that the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang has sought to make known the far-famed Buddhist shrine in India—the great Bodh-Gayā temple. It stands to the east and just in front of the present Bo-tree, and in the centre of the sacred area of the Great Bo, usurping the site of the original Bo-tree as well as that of the Old Diamond-throne temple. It stands indeed in the same relation to the present Bo-tree as the Old Diamond-throne temple did in respect of the original Bo. As a building, it stands out as the unmistakable artistic landmark of the Buddhist Holy Land, putting up an imposing sight that drew forth the following praise from the pen of a later Chinese pilgrim, Chiang Hsia-pias, who composed his inspired and inspiring hymn[2] in A. D. 1021, partly in eulogy of the "Shrine of Sambhogakāya" :—

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. xx.

[2] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 70.

"This shrine towers above the limits of the Trilokaya ;
Its shapely summit rests above the sky,
The Kalpa of fire exercises no influence over it ;
On earth how should we seek to model its like ?"

Hwen Thsang furnishes us with a vivid description of the delightful surroundings that have very largely contributed to the impressiveness of the Bodh-Gayā temple. The shrine with the Bo-Tree to the west stands surrounded in its inner circle by a stone-railing about 10 feet in height[1], and in its outer circle by "a brick wall of considerable height, steep and strong". Rare trees with their renowned flowers connect their shade and cast their shadows ; the delicate *sha* (? *kuśa*) herb and different shrubs carpet the soil. The principal gate opens to the east, opposite the Nairañjanā river. The southern gate adjoins a great flowery bank. The western side is blocked up and difficult of access. The northern gate opens into the great Saṅghārāma. Within the surrounding wall the sacred trees touch one another in all directions. Here there are *stūpas*, in another place *vihāras* (temples)"[2].

The temple, as it now stands, appears as a building with straight sides forming "a square truncated pyramid," "48 feet at its base and between 160 and 170 feet in height". "It is built of bluish bricks, with a coating of plaster. The four faces present several tiers of niches, rising one above the other, each of which, no doubt, once held a Buddhist figure Fig. [8]. The entrance on the eastern side was certainly an addition to the original building, as its course of bricks did not correspond with those of the main body of the temple."[3]

"There can be no reasonable doubt," says Cunningham, "that it is, in spite of all its repairs and alterations, the same building which was described by the Chinese pilgrim [Hwen Thsang]."[4]

The graphic description of the temple left by Hwen Thsang is reproduced below *in extenso* in order to enable the reader to imagine for himself an exact picture of the Buddhist shrine at Bodh-Gayā, as it stood in about A. D. 637 :—

"To the east of the Bodhi-tree there is a *vihāra* [temple] about 160 or 170 feet high. Its lower foundation-wall is 20 or more paces in its face.

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 118.
[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 115.
[3] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 18.
[4] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 18.

The building *(pile)* is blue tiles (*bricks*) covered with *chunam* (*burnt stone, lime*); all the niches in the different storeys hold golden figures. The four sides of the building are covered with wonderful ornamental work; in one place figures of stringed pearls *(garlands)*; in another figures of heavenly *Rishis.* The whole is surrounded by gilded copper *āmalaka* fruit. The eastern face adjoins a storeyed pavilion, the projecting eaves of which rise one above the other to the height of three distinct chambers; its projecting eaves, its pillars, beams, doors, and windows are decorated with gold and silver ornamented work, with pearls and gems let in to fill up interstices. Its sombre chambers and mysterious halls have doors in each of the three storeys. To the right and left of the outside gate are niches-like chambers; in the left is a figure of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, and to the right a figure of Maitreya Bodhisattva. They are made of white silver, and are 10 feet high."

Such was the temple as it appeared in its ancient glory at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. There were, as we shall see anon. repairs and alterations from time to time. In spite of repeated efforts made by the Buddhists for the preservation of their greatest known shrine in India in its pristine glory, it fell hopelessly into a ruinous state by the middle of the last century, and but for the laudable restoration work undertaken by Mr. Beglar and General Cunningham in 1880 at the instance of Sir Ashley Eden, the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, we would have seen nothing but a bewildering state of ruin, courting a most pathetic description and accidental newspaper notice such as one published in the *Englishman* of Calcutta :—

"The whole of the plinth and lower mouldings buried under accumulation of rubbish; the floor of the sanctum and of the great hall in front 4 feet lower than the level of a rough stone-floor laid by the Burmese, who had partially cleared away the heaps of rubbish in front,—the great hall roofless; the half-hall, or porch of the second storey, roofless; the whole of the front of the temple above the level of the third chamber fallen, disclosing a great triangular gap, about 20 feet high and 12 feet wide at best; the stairs leading up from lowest floor or ground floor or terrace, from which the towers spring, roofless; the whole of the facade of the platform to the east a mound of ruins; the whole south facade of platform ruinous, but retaining here and there portions of original work; the entire west face of the platform of the temple buried under rubbish, which itself was held up by a rivetment wall, 32 feet high, of plain brick and mortar, unplastered, and looking for all the world like a dilapidated jail wall"[1].

---

[1] Quoted in Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Preface, p. V. See Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, Pls. V-X.

Chiang Hsia-pias, the composer of the famous Chinese hymn of praise, has in high terms of eulogy credited King Aśoka with the erection of the Bodh-Gayā temple[1]. The unknown author of the Burmese inscription has expressly reckoned this temple as one of the 84,000 shrines erected by His Gracious majesty King Śrī Dharmāśoka, the great ruler of India (Jambu-dvīpa) at the end of 218th year of Buddha's demise on all the important holy spots associated with Buddha's life[2]. But Hwen Thsang definitely says : "On the site of the present *vihāra* (temple) Aśoka-rāja at first built a small *vihāra* (temple). Afterwards there was a Brāhman [votary of Śiva-Maheśvara] who reconstructed it on a large scale"[3]. It is also evident from Hwen Thsang's testimony that the younger brother of this Śaivite Brahmin was the excavator of the tank *Buddha-pokhar* to the south of the temple, and that the maker of the beautiful Buddha-image enshrined in the newly built temple was a skilful Brahmin sculptor employed by the Brahmin builder of the great shrine[4].

King Aśoka cannot possibly be given the credit of building the temple on any other resonable ground than that it is he who gave the real impetus to artistic develpment in the life of the Buddhist Holy Land. He is far from being the builder of the great shrine. Anyhow, Hwen Thsang's testimony is, as we saw, very explicit on this point. Even it is difficult to ascribe to his piety the erection of the earlier smaller shrine referred to by the Chinese pilgrim. The only smaller shrine which may be believed to have existed and stood in front of the original Bo-tree as anything like a shrine is the Diamond-throne temple. As we have already sought to show, this earlier shrine was not brought into being by King Aśoka but by some such personage as Kuraṅgi, the Matron and Lady Kuraṅgi, to whose munificence the ancient Stone-railing was mainly due. The Diamond-throne temple still exists inside the present temple without its covering roof and with its four pillars broken and damaged. To yield the required site for the great temple this smaller shrine had to suffer partial destruction along with the Jewel-walk shrine.

There is no such statement in Fa Hian's Fo-Kwo-Ki from which we might with Cunningham infer the existence of the Bodh-Gayā temple at so early an age as the time of visit of the earlier Chinese pilgrim. The mention of Bodh-Gayā as one of the four highly important places sacred to

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi,* p. 70.
[2] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi,* p. 76.
[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records,* Vol. II, p. 119.
[4] Beal's *Buddhist Records,* Vol. II, p. 119-20.

Buddhism was nothing but a reiteration on the part of Fa Hian of the traditional Buddhist reckoning. The only striking feature in the old shrines brought into being by Kuraṅgi and her coadjutors is a number of figures of the Buddha installed in them. The image bearing on its pedestal an inscription dated in the 64th year of the reign of King Tukāmala or Trikamala must have been one of the figures of the Buddha seen by Fa Hian. The great temple must have come into existence sometime after the visit of Fa Hian and decidedly before the coming of Hwen Thsang, we mean, sometime between the 5th and the 7th century A. D.

There is no direct evidence as yet to enable the chronicler of the Buddhist Holy Land to fix the date of erection of the Bodh-Gayā temple with accuracy. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that the temple as well as its quadrangular stone-enclosure came into existence sometime before Hwen Thsang's visit in the first half of the 7th century A. D. The stone-enclosure, as we shall see in the following article, was just a granite enlargement of the old sandstone railing that once surrounded the original Bo and the old Diamond-throne temple. The necessity for removal of the earlier railing arose, as we saw, from requirements of the great shrine occupying a site even larger than that of the railing itself. Hwen Thsang seems to record the dismantling of the earlier railing and the practical destruction of the old Diamond-throne temple and Jewel-walk shrine as a work of desecration of Buddhism on the part of the wicked Śaiva king Śaśāṅka of Bengal. And he expressly attributes the granite enlargement of the old standstone railing to the piety of the Buddhist king Pūrṇavarmā of Magadha who is even praised as "the last of the race of Aśoka-rāja". The Chinese traveller makes us understand that the erection of the enlarged stone-railing around the Bodh-Gayā temple was undertaken by King Pūrṇavarmā immediately after the tragic and sudden death of the Śaiva king Śaśāṅka. These two hints left by the Chinese pilgrim are highly important as indicating as to when, during whose reign and under whose patronage the boasted Buddhist shrine was built up. These go indeed to show that the laudable work of construction of the great temple undertaken by a Brahmin minister of Śaivite persuasion, connected presumably with the court of Śaśāṅka, was attended with the dismantling and partial demolition of certain structures as its regrettable exigencies, and that for some reason or other,-may be the tragic death of King Śaśāṅka,—the task of setting up the enlarged railing around the temple and the planting or rearing of a new Bo-sapling had to be left to be accomplished by King Pūrṇavarmā. If this argument is sound, the building of Bodh-Gayā temple can by no means be assigned to a date earlier than the reign of King Śaśāṅka, who was the powerful eastern rival and contemporary of King Rājyavardhana, the elder brother and immediate predecessor of the Pushpabhūti king Harsha of Kanauj.

The earliest available evidence of repairs of the great temple is furmished by a mediæval Sanskrit inscription, incised on one of the coping-stones of the present stone-railing. The inscription consists of two lines, the beginning and end of each of which are missing. "There is no mention of any date", observes Dr. Bloch, "nor is there any reference to any king or other known person. However, the style of writing, employed in the inscription, allows us to put down the date at about the 6th or 7th century A. D". It is to be seen whether it may be in any way connected with another such inscription, incised on another such coping-stone, standing close to the one bearing the inscription under notice, in order to supply some of the missing links, particularly the name of the person who bore the cost of repairs. The close similarity of the characters in which the two inscriptions are written and the contiguity of their positions on the stone-railing afford us, no doubt, a plausible ground for their interconnexion. The latter inscription is a votive record left by Śramaṇa Prakhyātakīrtti, a distinguished Buddhist monk from Ceylon, who is eulogised as one "born from the house of the rulers of the isle of Laṅkā and a moon in the sky of his race". In this inscription Prakhyātakīrtti felicitously records his pilgrimage and the homage he paid to the Holy Triad. Here he does not, however, say whether the homage paid by him assumed a tangible form, perhaps for the simple reason that details were to be found in the other inscription. Presuming thus that the two inscriptions are records left by one and the same person, we may take the illustrious Ceylonese monk Prakhyātakīrtti as the high personage who supplied the funds for the earliest known repairs of the Bodh-Gayā temple.

Returning to the inscription under notice, we might observe that the great deed of merit on the part of Prakhyātakīrtti was not confined to the work of repairs. It is evident from its contents that he caused a new temple to be built adjoining the large Diamond-throne *(Vajrāsana-vrihad-gandhakuṭī)*, which is to say, to the west of the great temple and the Bo-tree, and a brass-image to be installed in the Ceylonese monastery (*vihāre raitya-Buddha-pratimā*). He also tried to make an adequate provision for recurring repairs of the temple and regular worship of the Buddha-image inside it. He made also a permanent endowment for the monastery near by and a suitable provision for daily burning a lamp of *ghee* before the brass-image above referred-to. So the inscription characteristically records :—

"A [? temple][1] has been made where the great (Diamond-throne chamber)[2] is. The temple has been adorned with a new coating of plaster and paint, at the cost of 250 *dināras.* And in the temple a lamp of *ghee* has been provided for the Lord Buddha by the gift of a hundred cows for as long as the moon, sun, and stars shall endure. Also, by another hundred cows, in addition to the cost of small, perpetually recurring repairs to the temple, provision has been made for (another) lamp of *ghee*, to be burnt daily before the image inside the temple. By another hundred cows, provision has been made for having a lamp of *ghee* burnt before the brass-image of the Lord Buddha in the monastery (*vihāra*).........There also.........a large water-reservoir has been dug out for the use of the whole congregation of monks, and to the east of it a new field has been laid out"[3].

King Kyanzittha of Pagan (1084—1112 A.D.) is the first known ruler of Upper Burma who made a serious attempt to repair the holy temple of Bodh-Gayā [4]. As may be easily inferred from the Burmese inscription at Bodh-Gayā, this previous attempt on the part of King Kyanzittha proved unsuccessful. It is during the reign of King Alaungsithu (1112—1167 A. D.), his immediate successor, that a ruler of Arracan, King Letyaminnan, who gained back his ancestral throne with the aid of King Alaungsithu, undertook, in fulfilment of the wish of his benefactor, to repair the sacred shrines of Bodh-Gayā, the work of supervision having been entrusted to Penthagu, son of the lord of Seinnyet [5]. The Burmese inscription at Bodh-Gayā[6] is, no doubt, an epigraphic record of the ceremonial repairs of the Bodh-Gayā temple and other shrines done under the auspices of the ruler of Arracan. A model of the great shrine, found at Mrohoung, the ancient capital of Arracan, and now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, would seem to be a relic of success of this mission from Arracan. That the work of repairs, undertaken by the ruler of Arracan, was not confined to the Bodh-Gayā temple but was extended to other structures as well is evident from a number of new carvings on some of the granite pillars of the temple-railing, the carvings including human figures and *stūpa*-models of a purely Burmese pattern. These carvings must have been executed when the railing itself was repaired along with the temple.

The inter-connection of the history of the Buddhist Holy Land with that of Burma did not, however, terminate here. King Htilo Minlo,

---

1, 2 Supplied by the author.

[3] Bloch's *Notes on Bodh-Gayā*, ASR, 1908-9, p. 154.

[4] Harvey's *History of Burma*, p. 42 : King Kyanzittha gathered together gems of diverse kinds and sent them in a ship to build up the holy temple at Buddhagayā and to offer lights which should burn for ever."

[5] Harvey's *History of Burma*, p. 46.

[6] Cunningham's *Mahābohi*, p. 76.

who reigned in the 13th. century, tried to earn a great fame by building a new temple, namely, the Mahābodhi Pagoda, in the city of Pagan on the very model of the great temple at Bodh-Gayā[1]. Thereafter King Dhammazedi of Pegu, (A. D. 1472-92) noted in history as the author of the Kalyāṇi-stone inscriptions, sent a mission from Lower Burma to Bodh-Gayā to take plans of the holy tree and of the temple for buildings at Pegu[2]. It is not unlikely that the short Mön or Talaing inscription recording the gift of a copper umbrella by a royal Buddhist high priest Śrī-Dharmarāja-guru, the elder brother of King Sahadevinda, is a relic that proves the reality of such a mission from Lower Burma[3]. King Bodawpaya of the Alompra dynasty, of which King Thibaw was the last independent ruler, is known to have despatched a similar mission in A. D. 1810[4]. It is either Bodawpaya himself or some other king of Ava (Mandalay) and some other predecessor of King Thibaw who did the last work of repairs of the Bodh-Gayā temple. The proof of this is not far to seek. Cunningham was able to discover three inscribed bricks in the steeple of the dilapidated temple. The inscription on one of the three bricks is evidently written in the square characters of Upper Burma and there are two letters that distinctly record the name of Ava[5]. The remaining two inscriptions, are written each in Bengali characters, one of which records the name of one Gopapāla and the other that of one Dharmasiṃha[6]. There is little doubt that Gopapāla and Dharmasiṃha were two masons from Bengal, employed to carry out the last repair work of the great temple.

"With regard to the style of the great temple of Mahābodhi, we have," says Cunningham, "the distinct testimony of Hwen Thsang himself that the temple of Bālāditya at Nālandā resembled the great *vihāra* (temple) built under the Bodhi-tree in magnificence, in size, and in the style of the enshrined statue". In point of fact, however, it can never be shown that the style of the Bodh-Gayā temple had a wide appeal to the Buddhist world. The Mahābodhi Pagoda built in the city of Pagan by King Htilo Minlo is but a solitary structure, hardly worthy of notice when compared with the numerous other Pagodas, some built on the model of the sun-temple at Konarak, many on the model of the cave-temples of South India and some on other models. Coming to modern time, we find that only one temple is being built at Rangamati in the Chittagong Hill-Tracts by the Buddhist chief Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy on the model of the Bodh-Gayā shrine.

---

[1] Harvey's *History of Burma*, p. 119. This is to correct the statement in the foot-note of Book I, p. 207, crediting King Alaungsithu with the building of the Mahabodhi Pagoda.

[2] Harvey's *History of Burma*, p. 119.

[3] Book I p. 209,

[4] Harvey's *History of Burma*, p. 277.

[5] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, pl. XXIX. 3

[6] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, pl. XXIX. 3

(a) MODELS OF THE TEMPLE

The restoration of the Bodh-Gayā temple, as it now stands, by Cunningham and Beglar, with a high pyramidal tower in the centre and four similar smaller towers at the four corners has been justified by a small model in stone, found amongest the ruins [Fig. 27a], from which the whole design of the building, as it existed in mediæval times, could be traced with tolerable aompleteness[1]. The present form of the great temple has been justified also by another model, discovered at Mrohoung, the ancient capital of Arracan, and now preserved in the Indian Mnseum, Calcutta[2]. As for the model found in the district of Chittagong, it does not show any tower at any of the four corners [Fig. 27b] and the same is the case with the terra-cotta model of Pagan.

Cunningham has sought to acconnt for the Mrohoung find by the supposition that 'models of the temple were kept on sale for pilgrims'. We would rather think that this find is nothing but an interesting relic of success of the Buddhist mission sent from Arracan by its pious ruler in the 12th or 13th century.

(b) BOGUS BODH-GAYĀ PLAQUE

Much has boen made of an earthen plaque, found at Kumrahar, near Patna, in a mound, buried some 6 inches below the surface. In the same mound and not far from the place of the plaque was unearthed a purse containing the coins of Huvishka, buried about 6 feet below the surface. The plaque adorns the cover of the Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society as its label, and forms the subject-matter of the very first article contributed by so eminent a writer as the late Dr. Spooner.

It looks like a small circular disc of burnt clay, convex in its outer adorned face. Its convex face presents a number of designs, with the design of the temple in the centre. The temple stands as a high round-shaped tower with three pinnacles on the top, approched on its two sides by the flying angels, poised in the air. The sanctuary appears as an arched chamber with a seated figure of the Buddha, enshrined inside. The courtyard is enclosed by a quadrangular stone-railing, which is provided with a gateway in front. On two sides of the entrance of the sanctuary and within the courtyard one may see two standing human figures, both of which are marked by a halo, precisly like the seated figure inside the sanctuary.

---

[1], [2] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi* p. ix ; *ibid*, Pl. XVI.

Within the same enlosed courtyard, in front of the sanctuary and on the right side of its entrance stands an Aśokan monolith bearing on its top] the standing figure of an elephant. A short Kharoshṭhī inscription runs lenthwise from the foot of the monolith, and is found to be a votive label recording the plaque, as it does, to be a gift from a person of the Kauṭhuma family, who is described as a *Saṃghadāsa*, "the servant of the Buddhist holy order",—*Koṭhumasa Saṃghadasasa kiti*. Judging by the early form of the Kharoshṭhī characters in which the inscription is written, Dr. Sten Konow, to whom the credit of its deciphernent is due, is inclined to regard it as a pre-Kanishkan record and to assign it to so early a date as *circa* 134 A. D[1].

The temple is surrounded in its outer circle by various shrlnes and artistic representations of legends eonnected with the life of the Buddha, while all are enclosed by an outer wall of brick or of stone [Fig. 28].

The observed difference in style between the Bodh-Gayā temple as it stands and the temple as designed in the plaque led the late Professor Vincent A. Smith to doubt if the design in the plaque was a design at all of the temple at Bodh-Gayā. He felt inclined even to suggsst that the design was a design rather of the temple of Tiladaka as described by Hwen Thsang than of the temple of Mahābodhi [2].

There is little doubt in our mind that the plaque is intended to present designs of various shrines at Bodh-Gayā and artistic representations of various legends connected with the period of enlightenment. The representation of the Neat-herd's Banyan and the shrine under it precisely on a spot, where Hwen Thsang would locate them, leaves no room for doubt as to the plaque being a plaque of Bodh-Gayā.

The great question still remains: Is the plaque genuine or spurious? There is an air of modernity about it, there being nothing at all amongst the ancient finds in India that bears the faintest resemblance to it. The first suspicion begins to deepen into a settled conviction as we detect on the left side of the temple the figure of a gentleman, who remains standing with his fat body, long beard and a felt hat on his head [Fig. 28a].

---

[1] *JBORS*, Vol. XII, Pt. II, p. 131.

[2] *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 375, ff., for Spooner's reply to Vincent Smith's objections to treating the plaque as a plque of Bodh-Gayā temple.

It is impossible for any one to conceive the various designs who has not seen the Barhut representation of the scene of the Buddha Śākyamuni's enlightenment, who has has not read Hwen Thsang's account of Bodh-Gayā, and who is not acquainted somehow with the observations in Cunningham's illustrated monograph—Mahābodhi.

Let the plaque continue to adorn the cover of the Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society as its label. Let it receive the honour of treatment from the suggestive pen of so distinguished a writer as the late Dr. Spooner. Even let its inscribed label be assigned to a pre-Kanishkan date by so expert an Indian palœographist as Dr. Sten Konow. We have to declare the plaque, as it appears, as spurious, nothing but spurious.

14. PŪRṆAVARMĀ-KṚITA ŚILĀ-PRĀKĀRA

THE STONE-RAILING ERECTED BY PŪRṆAVARMĀ

We have seen that the old Sandstone-railing surrounding the original Bo and the old Diamond-throne temple was dismantled and removed from its plinth when a larger site had to be provided for the great temple of Bodh-Gayā, and a new railing had to be set up on a much wider plinth to surround the temple and the later Bo. (*ante* pp. 13 ff.)

The earlier Sandstone-railing was an enclosure for the original Bo, the old Diamond-throne temple having been a minor feature. The later enlarged railing became principally an enclosure for the great temple itself, the later offshoot of the original Bo having become a minor feature.

"The circuit of the present railing," says Cunningham, "is not less than 520 feet, which would have required just double the number of pillars [in the earlier railing]. There are remains of 62 pillars now *in situ*, of which a large number are of granite, and the remainder 5 of sandstone. As there are about 20 more of these pillars in the various courts of the Mahanth's dwelling, besides the 3 taken to Kensington, and 3 or 4 to Calcutta, the full number still existing may be set down as somewhere about 100, which is very near to the actual number of 108 required for the whole extent of the present enclosure".[1]

The pillars which Cunningham found in the courts of the Mahanth's dwelling are no longer there, but have all of them been brought back to the temple site and set up on the railing plinth. With the exception of the 3 pillars taken to the Kensington Museum and the 3 or 4 pillars removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the remaining surviving pillars are all to be seen *in situ.*

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 22.

It then goes without saying that the existing railing is nothing but a granite enlargement of the earlier railing of sandstone. It is quadrangular in shape precisely like its predecessor. We have already sought to show that the granite additions were all made within the framework of the original railing, left undisturbed, the four corner-pillars of the earlier railing standing out as the four corner pillars of the later one. We have also sought to show that a definite system was adopted in arranging the granite portions side by side with the sandstone.

The present railing is not, however, without its novel features. The earlier railing had just one gate on the eastern side and was provided with a false gate on the western side. The present railing shows four gates on the four sides, and the eastern gate is confronted by an additional ornamented gateway.

Hwen Thsang who saw this new railing around the great temple and the Bo-tree, credits King Pūrṇavarmā of Magadha with its erection. While the height of the earlier Sandstone railing, wrongly attributed by the Chinese pilgrim to the piety of King Aśoka, was not more than 10 feet[1], the later railing must have appeared much higher, 20 or 24 feet[2], when judged by the height of all its gateways. Be it noted that the Chinese pilgrim assigns the date of erection of the new railing to a date placed immediately after the tragic and sudden death of the wicked Śaiva king Śaśāṅka of Bengal[3]. Unfortunately, there is no inscription, found as yet, to corroborate the truth of the information supplied by Hwen Thsang.

Without raising, however, any unnecessary scepticism as to the reliability of Hwen Thsang's information, we have to point out that the temple railing, as it now survives, bears a clear testimony to still later additions of granite, probably made by the Buddhist mission from Burma, entrusted with the work of repairs of the temple and other shrines on the holy site of Bodh-Gayā. The two broken gate-pillars on the north side bear the stamp of Burmese moulding [Fig. 29] ; and there are a number of other granite pillars that are adorned with the *stūpa*-models and carvings of human figures that are unmistakably of a Burmese pattern. It does not seem likely that the Burmese mission interfered with the general plan of the railing set up by King Pūrṇavarmā.

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 118.

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p, 118.

[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 118.

15. ŚILĀ-TORAṆA

THE STONE-GATEWAY

The outer brick-wall of the sacred area of the Bo-tree was provided, as Hwen Thsang saw and we see it, with three gates, one on the northern side, one on the southern, and the third on the eastern, that on the eastern side being considered the principal gate. The northern gate opened into the great monastery erected by King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon, the southern gate adjoined the cemented bathing steps of the *Buddha-pokhar* excavated by the younger brother of the Brahmin builder of the Bodh-Gayā temple, and the eastern gate opened into the Nerañjarā river [1] which flows at present at a short distance from the temple-area.

The Stone-gateway which forms the subject-matter of the present article is not directly connected with the outer brick-wall. It stands midway between the eastern gate of the outer brick-wall and that of the inner stone-railing around the temple, and seems intended to appear as an independent portico of the temple itself, bearing a direct connection rather with the inner railing than with the outer wall.

Compared with the Barhut ornamented sandstone gateways set up by King Dhanabhūti, the Stone-gateway of the Bodh-Gayā temple is a simple granite construction. It consists of two pillars and an architrave fixed horizontally over the two posts. "The shafts of the pillars are $14^{1}/_{2}$ feet high and 2 feet 1 inch at base, 1 foot $3^{1}/_{2}$ inches at top. The bracket capitals had a square centre of $15^{1}/_{2}$ inches, with two oblong branches, and two short branches of $11^{1}/_{2}$ inches. They were 16 inches in height, thus making the clear height of the *Toran* nearly 17 feet. The capitals were ornamented both on their faces and on their sides. The diameter of the shafts consisted of several bands of simple ornament, gradually changing from the plain square dado to octagonal, then to sixteen-sided and to circular. The whole of the ornamentation is similar to that of the pillars of the portico of the great Nālandā temple."[2]

"The distance from centre to centre of the pillars is 10 feet 4 inches, and the clear roadway between them is 8 feet 3 inches, which differs by only 5 inches from the width of the northern and southern gateways." [3]

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 115.

[2] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 32.

[3] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 33.

Several kneeling figures were found in the neighbourhood of the gateway, with their hands joined in adoration. In the opinion of Cunningham wherever they were placed, they must have faced the temple. "These certainly were statues fixed on the east and west sides of the pillars, as there are shallow hollows for their reception and several socket holes for cramp to keep them in position.

16. OTHER SHRINES MENTIONED BY HWEN THSANG

The Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang has made mention of several shrines and works of merit other than those already described. Here we shall remain content with giving a bare list of these shrines and works of merit, classified under these four heads : (a) Tanks, (b) Temples, (c) Stūpas, and (d) Pillars.

(a) TANKS

1. The most noteworthy of the ancient tanks at Bodh-Gayā is the one now known as *Buddha-Pokhar*. It adjoins the south gate of the outer wall of the holy site as it did at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. This is the tank on the south side of the Bodh-Gayā temple, which was known to have been excavated by the younger brother of the Brahmin builder of the great shrine, and was 700 paces round. The water of the tank, as seen by the Chinese pilgrim, was clear and pure as mirror, and it presented a delightful scene of play of the *nāgas* and fishes.

2. The Śakra-tank, situated at some distance to the south of the *Buddha-pokhar*, sacred to Buddhism on account of the fact that the Buddha bathed in it shortly after his great enlightenment. The tank was known to have been excavated by Śakra, king of the gods. The legend of the tank may also be traced in the Lalita-vistara.

3. The Muchalinda tank or lake, apparently a pond-shaped natural pool, situated in the midst of a jungle to the east of the tank of Śakra. The water of this tank or lake, as seen by the Chinese pilgrim, was of a dark blue colour, and its taste was sweet and pleasant. It derived its name from a Muchalinda tree, which grew on its bank.

(b) TEMPLES

1. A temple enshrining an image of Buddha Kāśyapa and situated to the north-west of the Bo-tree. It was noted for its miraculous qualities.

2. Two brick-chambers, situated to the north-west of the temple of Kāśyapa Buddha, each containing a figure of Vasundharā—the Earth-spirit.

3. A small temple on the west bank of the Muchalinda-tank, enshrining an image of the Buddha.

4. A temple to the east of the Muchalinda-tank, enshrining an image of the Buddha and situated in a wood. The figure was noted for its healing powers.

5. A cave or stone-chamber in the Prāgbodhi hill, which was known to have enshrined a shadow left by the Bodhisattva to please its dragon dweller.

(c) STŪPAS

1. The *stūpas* that were known to have been erected by King Aśoka on each spot up and down the Prāgbodhi hill which the Bodhisattva had passed.

2. A *stūpa*, about 100 feet high, which was known to have been erected by King Aśoka to mark the spot where Śakra in the disguise of a grass-cutter had offered a bundle of grass to the Bodhisattva

3. A *stūpa*, not far to the north of the above *stūpa*, which was built to mark the spot where the Bodhisattva, when about to obtain enlightenment, saw a flock of birds of lucky omen.

4. Two *stūpas* to the east of the Bo-tree, on the left and right of the great mound, built to mark the spot where Māra tempted the Bodhisattva.

5. The Kuṅkuma (saffron-scent) Stūpa which was known to have been erected in honour of the Buddha by a merchant-chief of the country of Tsankuṭa to the north-west of the outer wall of the holy site.

6. A *stūpa* at the south-east angle of the outer wall of the holy site by the side of the Neat-herd's banyan.

7- Four great *stūpas*, one at each of the four angles within the enclosure of the holy site. These were built to commemorate the incident of the Buddha's walking on the four sides of the Bo-tree from point to point.

8. A *stūpa* at the south-west of the Bo-tree outside its walls, built to mark the homestead of the two shepherd-girls who offered the rice-milk to the Bodhisattva.

9. A *stūpa* built on the spot where the Buddha put on the garments offered by a poor woman, and another to the south in a wood, built to mark the spot where the poor woman offered the garment.

10. A *stūpa* by the side of the *Pippala* or *Aśvattha* tree which marked the place of penances practised by the Bodhisattva.

11. A *stūpa* to the south-west of the above spot marking the place where the Bodhisattva walked down into the river Nairañjanā.

12. A *stūpa* by the side of the above spot, built to mark the place where Trapusha and Bhallika offered the wheat and honey to the Buddha.

13. A *stūpa* by the side of the merchant-offering place marking the spot where the four Lokapālas or guardian angels presented the Budhisattva with an alms-bowl.

14. A *stūpa* not far from the above spot marking the place where the Buddha preached the law for the sake of his mother.

15. A *stūpa* beside the above spot and on the border of a dry pool, built to mark the place where the Buddha displayed various spiritual changes to convert those who were capable of it.

16. A *stūpa* by the side of the above spot built to mark the place where the Buddha met the three Jaṭila leaders, and another *stūpa* to the north-west of it marking the spot where the Buddha converted the three Kāśyapa brothers with their Jaṭila followers.

17. A *stūpa* to the south of the Muchalinda tank marking the spot where Uruvilva Kāśyapa went to the Buddha during an inundation.

18. A *stūpa* by the side of the eastern gate of the outer wall of the holy site, built to mark the spot where Māra tried to frighten the Bodhisattva.

19. Two *stūpas* built by Śakra and Brahmā not far from the above spot.

20. A *stūpa* to the east of the Bo-tree, on the other side of the Nairañjanā, built in a wood, by the side of a pool, to mark the spot where the Bodhisattva in his former birth as a *gandhahastī* (perfume elephant) waited on his mother.

21. Lastly, a *stūpa* by the side of the above pool marking the place where Buddha Kāśyapa sat in meditation.

(d) PILLARS

1. A stone-pillar erected before the last-mentioned *stūpa*.

2- The posts that were known to have been erected along with the *stūpas* on each of the spots up and down the Prāgbodhi hill which the Bodhisattva had passed.

17. PART PLAYED BY DIFFERENT PERSONAGES

Speaking of the sanctuaries at Bodh-Gayā generally, the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang says : "Within the surrounding wall the sacred traces touch one another in all directions. Here there are *stūpas*, in another place *vihāras* (temples). The kings, princes, and great personages throughout all Jambudvīpa (India), who have accepted the bequeathed teaching as handed down to them, have erected these monuments as memorials."[1]

It is not possible now to gather either the names or the particulars of all the persons who were somehow instrumental in bringing about the development of Buddhist sanctuaries at Bodh-Gayā. We have tried to present an account of the persons, whose names and contributions are noted in traditions and records, in Book 1, in the article dealing with 'Bodh-Gayā from Buddhist point of view.' We feel nevertheless the need of giving below a list of those persons in order to make the general description of the Bodh-Gayā shrines complete by itself. The list is being presented preferably in a tabular form, following rather a chronological than an alphabetical order.

1. Aśoka :—He is the third and greatest known Maurya emperor of India, revered in Buddhist traditions as Dharmāśoka for his various works of piety. Though the rise of Bodh-Gayā into a place of great importance to the Buddhists must, in the first instance, be accounted for by the dying words of the Buddha recommending the place of his enlightenment as one of the four main spots that a devotee should visit, the fulfilment of Buddha's words began when King Aśoka gave a real impetus to the development of Bodh-Gayā as the Buddhist Holy Land with its art and architecture by undertaking pilgrimage to the place, the first time, in the 10th or 11th year of his reign, and the second time, in the 19th or 20th year. According to the legend in the Divyāvadāna, the pious king pilgrimaged once to all the important places sacred to Buddhism under the guidance of his religious preceptor Upagupta, and at each place that he had visited he made a gift of money and marked the historical spot with a memorial shrine and that as a favour to future visitors. He is said to have developed an inordinate love for the Bo-tree,—so intense that it roused up jealousy and revengeful spirit in the heart of his wicked second queen consort Tishyarakshitā. It is during his reign and partly by his effort that

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 115.

a graft of the Bo-tree was brought over to and planted in Ceylon. He is credited by modern scholars with the erection at Bodh-Gayā of a monolith bearing a standing elephant on its capital. No trace of the stone-pillar remained, even if it was actually set up, when Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang visited the place. The earlier Sandstone railing and the old Diamond-throne temple are attributed by Hwen Thsang to his piety. But the inscriptions irresistably prove that the railing and the temple were erections of persons other than Aśoka.

2. Kuraṅgi :—Her name occurs as a female donor on the fifteen of the surviving pillars of the old Stone-railing. In each of these inscribed labels she is honoured with the epithet *Ayā* or *Āryā*—the Noble Lady and Matron. Her name as a female donor prominently figures also in the labels on two of the surviving coping pieces of the same railing. Here she is described as the elderly wife of King Indrāgnimitra who might boast as a mother of living sons. It seems that the erection of the old Sandstone railing, the old Diamond-fhrone temple and the Jewel-walk shrine was due mainly to her munificence. It is very likely that she built two retreats on a high ground on the north side of the holy site perpetuating the memory of her deceased husband, one for her own residence in her retirement and the other for the residence of the monks.

3. Sirimā (Śrīmatī) :—Her name occurs as a female donor on one of the surviving pillars of the old Stone-railing. In the inscribed label she is described as a *chetikā*. Her name is found associated with that of Kuraṅgi as a joint donor of two of the surviving coping pieces of the Sandstone railing.

4. Nāgadevī :—She is noted for her donation of the famous *Yaksha*-pillar of the old Stone-railing which was probably set up on the western side along with a *Yakshiṇī*-pillar in order to make the appearance of a false gate corresponding to the entrance on the east side. In the inscription she is introduced as the wife of King Brahmamitra.

5. Amogha :—His name is recorded in a Bodh-Gayā inscription as the donor of one of the surviving rail-bars of the old Stone-railing.

6. Bodhirakshita :—He, too, figures as the donor of one of the rail-bars of the old Stone-railing. In the inscription he is described as a man of Tāmraparṇi (Ceylon or region of the Tāmraparṇi river in South India).

7. The donor of one of the surviving rail-bars whose name cannot be ascertained from the mutilated inscription.

8. The inmate of Vinayadhara's monastery :—He installed two images of the Buddha still in the state of a Bodhisattva *(Bodhisatva paṭimā)* at Bodh-Gayā in *Saṃvaṭ* 64 (? = A. D. 142) during the reign of one King Trikamala. The image appears to have been one of the figures seen installed at Bodh-Gayā by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian.

9. Meghavarṇa :—He is the king of Ceylon who is noted in history as the builder of the Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma, a costly edifice erected at Bodh-Gayā during the reign of King Samudragupta for the accommodation of the pilgrims from Ceylon. It was tenanted by some 1,000 Buddhist monks of the Sthaviravāda sect in the 5th and 7th centuries of the Christian era.

10. Fa Hian :—He is the earliest known Chinese pilgrim who visited Bodh-Gayā in the first quarter of the 5th century A. D., and wrote a description of what he had seen in order to heighten the popularity of the place in China.

11. Mahānāma II :—He is the author of a lengthy Sanskrit inscription, dated *Saṃvat* 269 (? = A. D. 588), in which he traces his pedigree as a monk back to the Venerable Mahākāśyapa who was entrusted with the task of preservation and transmission of the Saṃyuktāgama. He belonged to a place called Āmradvīpa (Mango-island) in Ceylon. He installed an image of the Buddha in a temple erected on the holy site for the purpose.

12. Dharmagupta and Daṃshṭrasena :—They are the two Buddhist monks from Tishyāmratīrtha in Ceylon who jointly installed an image of the Buddha.

13. Dharmadāsa :—He, too, appears to have been a Buddhist monk from Ceylon who dedicated an image of the Buddha on the holy site of Bodh-Gayā.

14. Bodhisena :—He is a pilgrim from a place called Dattagalla in Ceylon who installed an image of the Buddha at Bodh-Gayā.

15. Śasāṅka :—He is the Śaiva king of Gauḍa (Bengal) and powerful eastern rival of King Rājyavardhana of Kanauj who is blackmailed in the Si-yu-ki of Hwen Thsang as a sworn enemy of Buddhism and destroyer of certain shrines of Bodh-Gayā. If it be assumed that the partial demolition of some of the structures and the dismantling and removal of the old Stone-railing were necessitated by the construction of the Bodh-Gayā temple requiring a large site, it would appear that he is the Śaiva king under whose auspices the Buddhist shrine was built at Bodh-Gayā.

16. The builder of the Bodh-Gayā temple :—According to Hwen Thsang's information, the builder of the Bodh-Gayā temple was a Brahmin devotee of Śiva-Maheśvara, who proceeded to raise the edifice to the glory of the Buddha in obedience to a command from his own deity. He was a minister connected probably with the court of King Śaśāṅka.

17. The excavator of Buddha-pokhar :—The younger brother of the Brahmin builder of the Bodh-Gayā temple was commanded by Śiva-Maheśvara tc excavate the tank which is now known by the name of Buddha-pokhar.

18. The Brahmin sculptor :—He is the skilled artist employed by the Brahmin builder of the great temple to carve the figure of the Buddha installed in the main sanctuary of the famous shrine. He took six months in finishing the work, and so exquisite and perfect was the execution of the task entrusted to him that the artist was believed to have been the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī himself appearing in disguise.

19. Pūrṇavarmā :—He is the pious king of Magadha praised in the Buddhist tradition as "the last of the race of Aśoka-rāja". He is known to have reared up a new Bo-tree from a root of the parent tree that perished shortly after the tragic death of King Śaśāṅka, and erected the present railing on a wider plinth around the great temple, and that within the enlarged framework of the earlier Sandstone railing dismantled at the time of the building of the temple of Bodh-Gayā.

20. Hwen Thsang :—He is the second but the greatest known Chinese pilgrim who visited Bodh-Gayā in the 7th century A. D. It is to him that we owe a detailed account of various shrines that adorned the holy site and its surroundings during the palmy days of the Buddhist Holy Land.

21. I-tsing and others :—The second wave of Chinese pilgrimage brought in I-tsing and many others including some pilgrims from Korea, some coming by the northern land-route and some by the southern sea-route, and all to pay their homage at the sacred shrines of Mahābodhi

22. Prakhyātakīrtti :—He is the illustrious Buddhist *śramaṇa* of Ceylon who came on pilgrimage to Bodh-Gayā in the 7th or 8th century A. D. It is probably Prakhyātakīrtti who caused a new temple to be erected adjoining the Bo-tree and the Diamond-throne. It is probably he who white-washed the geat temple at the cost of 250 *dināras*, made a provision for recurring repairs of the Bodh-Gayā temple, the burning of a lamp of *ghee* before the image in the main sanctuary of the great shrine, and for the burning of another lamp

of *ghee* before the brass-image installed in the Ceylon monastery, and provided the great monastery with a new water-reservoir.

23. Udayaśrī :—He is a Buddhist lay pilgrim from Ceylon who seems to have accompanied Prakhyātakīrtti with his wife and son. He caused an image of the Buddha to be installed at Bodh-Gayā.

24. Keśava :—He caused a stone-slab bearing the figure of a Chaumukh Mahādev to be installed inside the Bodh-Gayā temple in the 26th year of the reign of King Dharmapāla for the benefit of the erudite Śaivite Brahmin scholars of the locality. He is introduced in his inscription as the son of a stone-cutter named Ujjvala.[1]

25. Pūrṇabhadra :—He is the Buddhist king Śrī-Pūrṇabhadra of Sindh who erected a *gandhakuṭi* (temple) at Bodh-Gayā for the installation of three Buddha images.

26. Tuṅga :—He is the Buddhist king Tuṅga of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family who caused a *gandhakuṭi* (Buddha-temple) to be built 'like unto a flight of steps into heaven'.

27. Chi-I :—He is a Chinese Buddhist priest who came twice to the kingdom of Magadha during the reign of the great Han dynasty to gaze upon the Diamond-throne and other vestiges of Buddhism, each time in company with others. In his second pilgrimage he was accompanied by Hwei-tsei, and Kwang-fung.

28. Yun Shu :—He is the Chinese Buddhist priest from the Western or Yellow river who caused a stone-*stūpa* to be built in honour of the ten thousand Buddhas some 30 paces to the north of the Bodhimaṇḍa and a votive record to be set up. He visited Bodh-Gayā in A.D. 1021, during the reign of the great Sung dynasty. He came twice to India. In his first visit he became associated with Chiang Hsia-pias and in his second visit he was accompanied by I-ching and I-lin from the monastery of Established Doctrine.

29. Chiang Hsia-pias :—He is a Chinese Buddhist priest and pilgrim who came earlier to India than the arrival of Yun Shu and became associated with the latter at Bodh-Gayā where he composed and set up a memorable hymn of praise in honour of Trikāya.

30. I-ching and I-lin :—They are the two Chinese Buddhist priests and pilgrims from the monastery of Established Doctrine who accompanied Yun Shu when the latter came second time to India. They set up a separate inscription recording the presentation of a gold-embroidered

---

[1] Book 1, p. 198. Please note the regretted omission of the name of Keśava.

robe for spreading over the Diamond-throne of the Buddha and the erection of a stone-*stūpa* on the holy site.

31. Yu-pin :—He is a Chinese Buddhist priest and pilgrim from the monastery of the commencement of Holiness in the Eastern capital whose recorded acts of merit were similar to those of I-ching and I-lin.

32. Hui-wen :—He is the Chinese Buddhist priest who by the command of their Imperial Majesties, the Emperor and Empress of the Great Sung dynasty came to Bodh-Gayā and erected a *stūpa* beside the Bodhimaṇḍa in A.D. 1033.

33. Kyanzittha :—He is the first known ruler of Pagan in Upper Burma who made an honest but unsuccessful attempt to repair the Bodh-Gayā temple in the 11th or 12th century A. D.

34. Śrī-Dharmarājaguṇa :—He is the royal preceptor of the pious king of Upper Burma,—no doubt, of King Kyanzittha of Pagan, who was deputed with sufficient money to repair the Bodh-Gayā temple,—a project which proved a failure.

35. Thera Kāthaba (Kāśyapa) :—He is the junior Burmese Buddhist monk who accompanied his teacher Śrī-Dharmarājaguṇa when the latter started for Bodh-Gayā.

36. Alaungsithu :—He is known as the immediate successor of King Kyanzittha of Pagan at whose instance King Letyaminnan of Arracan undertook to repair the Bodh-Gayā shrines including the great temple.

37. Letyaminnan :—He is the noble ruler of Arracan who acting up to a suggestion from King Alaungsithu, his friend and helper, undertook the costly repair of the great temple and other shrines of Bodh-Gayā.

38. Pyuthakin, Ratha and Wardathi :—Pyuthakin the Prince, Ratha the Minister and Wardathi (Varadassi) the Buddhist Thera are the three persons who successfully carried out the first Burmese repair of the shrines of Bodh-Gayā including the temple in 667 of the Burmese era.

39. Htilo Minlo :—He is the king of Upper Burma who is noted as the builder of the Mahābodhi Pagoda in the holy city of Pagan.

40. Aśokavalla :—He is the pious and tolerant Buddhist king of Sapādalaksha (Sivalik) and the Mahāyānist who acting on a petition from the Kashmir Pandit Chaṭṭopadhi, the king's Pandit Mushala, the worthy

Śaṅkaradeva and Trailokyabrahma, built a monastery at Bodh-Gayā for Bhaṭu Dāmodara, Bhaṭu Paima, Siśu Rāghava and Mahipukha installing a Buddha image therein, and employed the cook Māmaka and the keeper Harichandra to prepare daily rations as a befitting offering to the deity in *Saṃvat* 51 of the era of Lakshmaṇasena.

41. Purushottamadāsa :—He is the good king of Kamā who has been praised in a *praśasti* composed by Indranandi in the Buddhavarsha 1831, as the builder of a *gandhakuṭi* at Bodh-Gayā.

42. Sahaṇasāna :—He is the treasurer of Prince Daśaratha, the younger brother of King Aśokavalla, and the Mahāyānist who, in *Saṃvat* 74 of the era of Lakshmaṇasena, made a meritorious gift at Bodh-Gayā.

43. Vīryendra :—He is the Mahāyānist Buddhist monk of a monastery at Somapura and the inhabitant of Samaṭata who installed a remarkable figure of the Buddha attended by the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya.

44. Dhammazedi :—He is the famous king of Lower Burma and the author of the Kalyāṇi Stone-inscriptions who sent a Buddhist mission to Bodh-Gayā to make drawings of the holy shrines for pious erections in his own capital.

45. Śrī-Dharmarājaguru :—He is the Buddhist Thera from Lower Burma and, perhaps, the elder brother of King Sahadevinda[1] who in *Saṃvat* 397 (? of the era of Lakshmaṇasena) made a gift of a large copper-gilt umbrella.

46. Ṭhākuras and Ṭhākurāṇis :—They are the Buddhist pilgrims from Kariśa in Sindh or the Punjab who visited Bodh-Gayā and made some unimportant votive offerings between *Saṃvat* 1359 and *Saṃvat* 1388.

47. Jinadāsa :—He is the learned Buddhist pilgrim from the country of Parvata near Multan who has left a votive record inscribed on the present temple railing.

48. Bodawpaya :—He is the king of Upper Burma and the ruler of the Alompra dynasty of Ava who sent a Buddhist mission to Bodh-Gayā.

49. Some king of Ava :—The second Burmese repair of the Bodh-Gayā temple was made by a predecessor of King Thibaw, the last independent king of Upper Burma.

---

[1] Read *agrajah* for *atrajah*.

50. Gopapāla and Dharmasiṃha:—They are the two expert masons of Bengal who were employed for the last Burmese repair of the Bodh-Gayā temple.

18. HOLD OF BODH-GAYĀ SANCTUARIES ON THE AFFECTION AND SUPERSTITION OF THE BUDDHIST FOLK

The folk is folk everywhere and in all stages of human civilisation. History bears a clear testimony to the fact that whatever the real character of a religion and its tenets, the rise of each religion serves only to supply fresh excuses and opportunities through its legends for its followers to make public demonstrations of the glory of their faith and to associate certain supernatural phenomena with some of their sanctuaries. As the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang clearly bears out, Buddhism and its followers were not an exception to this rule.

When the sandy tract of Uruvelā was a scene of *Krittikā-vrata*, a solemn rite performed by an ancient order of Vedic hermits in connexion with the lunar asterism *Krittikā*, the tradition of such an observance by those ancient hermits furnished the pious posterity with a good excuse for commemorating it by demarcating the site, fencing it round and raising it into a place of special sanctity. And afterwards when the same tract became an important scene of a Great sacrifice (*Mahāyajña*) performed by the matted-hair Vedic ascetics—the Jaṭilas, the fame of their leaders drew together all the inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha, to witness the great ceremony and contribute to its grandeur and magnificence.

Similarly when with the advent of the Buddha the self-same tract of Uruvelā became a most notable scene of enlightenment of the human mind, the tradition of the grand achievement by a princely ascetic served to heighten the importance of the place of the great Attainment as the very navel of the earth, to place the Bo-tree in the centre of all the objects of Buddhist worship and to invest other spots associated with the movements and actions of the Buddha, both before and after his enlightenment, with a peculiar religious sanctity, impelling all the kings, princes, and great personages throughout India and countries outside, who embraced the faith of Buddhism, to erect numerous monuments as memorials and make other demonstrations.

As may be elicited from the informative account of Hwen Thsang, there were two distinct occasions for the thronging together of Buddhist devotees and pilgrims for a joyous expression of their religious sentiment, (1) the *Pravāraṇā* or the termination of the Buddhist Lent and (2) the anniversary of the Buddha's Great Decease.

On the first occasion, 'religious laymen' from different countries used every year to ascend the Prāgbodhi hill where they stopped just for a night for the purpose of making religious offerings to the faithful. And the shrines on this hill, though of different sizes, were believed to have been alike in spiritual manifestations. As Hwen Thsang describes it, sometimes flowers fell on them from heaven ; sometimes a bright light illumined the dark valleys.[1]

On the same occasion, 'religious persons' used to come every year to Bodh-Gayā in myriads and during seven days and nights used to scatter flowers, burn incense and sound music as they wandered through the locality and paid their worship and presented their offerings.

The Chinese pilgrim rightly says that in India the Buddhist monks broke up their yearly rest of the rains on the 15th or full-moon day of *Āśvina* (Sept.—Oct.).[2]

And on the second occasion, the princes of different countries and the religious multitude from different quarters used to assemble by thousands and ten thousands unbidden, on the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha* (April—May), and bathe the roots of the sacred Bo-tree with scented water and perfumed milk, whilst they raised the sounds of music and drum. According to the old belief about the Jewel-walk shrine, the holy traces of the Buddha's footsteps indicated the length or shortness of a man's life. Having offered up a sincere prayer, a devotee desiring to ascertain the span of his life, paced the distance and measured ; according as the person's life was to be long or short so would the measurement be greater or less.[3]

The image of Buddha Kāśyapa was noted for its miraculous qualities. From time to time it emitted a glorious light. The old records said that if a man actuated by faith walked round it seven times, he obtained the power of knowing the place and condition of his former life.[4]

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 115.

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 136.

[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records* Vol. II, p. 123.

[4] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 122.

One of the images of the Buddha, enshrined in a temple near the Muchalinda tank, possessed wonderful healing powers. In old times as well as at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, among the better classes of people, those who suffered from disease were accustomed to anoint this figure with scented earth, whereby they were cured in many cases.[1]

The old people said: "As soon as the figure of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva sinks in the ground and disappears, the Law of Buddha will come to an end."[2]

19. PLACE OF BUDDHA'S FOOTPRINTS

The footprint is rightly regarded in the Gayā-māhātmya as a semi-iconic (vyaktāvyakta) form of Vishṇu, the presiding deity of Gayā proper,—semi-iconic in the sense that it is merely suggestive of human figuration.

We come across the semi-iconic form of the Buddha on the inner stone railing of the Stūpa of Barhut in some of the bas-reliefs where the presence and certain action of the Buddha are sought to be represented by the footprints. In the bas-reliefs where the sitting posture was to be represented, it has been done by means of two footprints carved side by side[3], and in the bas-relief where the Buddha's descent by a ladder from the Tushita heaven was to be represented, each step has been appropriately represented by means of a single footprint.[4] When we find that Vishṇu of Gayā proper is represented by a single footprint, we may safely understand that the purpose is to represent not a sitting or simply standing but a stepping posture of the deity.

The footprint of Vishṇu, as we find it enshrined in the Vishṇupada temple of Gayā and elsewhere, is marked by the four prominent symbols of conch-shell (*śaṅkha*), wheel (*chakra*), mace (*gadā*) and lotus (*padma*). Kern has rightly pointed out that in all cases of Barhut representation the footprints of the Buddha are marked each by a wheel. It may be reasonably presumed that in the case of Vishṇu's footprint the wheel symbolises the disc of the sun, and that in the latter case, the same symbol represents the 'Turning of the Wheel of the Law' (*Dharmachakra*

---

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 128.
[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 111.
[3] Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*. Pl. XVI.
[4] Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl. XVII.

pravarttana) by the Buddha. Similarly it may be maintained that Vishṇu's footprint symbolically represents the stepping of the Vaishṇava deity on the Stone of Virtue pressing the upper part of the body of Gayāsura, and that in the case of the Barhut representation of the episode of the descent from the Tushita heaven each of the two footprints of the Buddha, one shown on the highest rung and the other on the lowest, represents the stepping down by the ladder.

In the Buddhavaṃsa the feet of the Buddha are said to have been marked each by the four symbols of *varddhamāna*, wheel (*chakra*) umbrella (*chhatra*) and flag (*patākā*)[1]. Evidently the Barhut artists carved the feet of the Buddha Śākyamuni in utter disregard of this literary description.

It will be noted that nowhere amongst the Barhut carvings the footprints of the Buddha are set up as objects of worship. They are introduced only where the artists could not help introducing them in meeting the requirements of a narrative or episode without resorting to the full human figure of the Buddha, *e.g.*, in the bas-relief representing the scene of an interview of King Ajātaśatru with the Buddha, it being needed by the literary version of the episode to represent the former as saluting the latter by kneeling down with folded hands and touching the feet of the latter with his forehead.

It is remarkable that in none of the surviving bas-reliefs on the Bodh-Gayā stone-railing the footprints of the Buddha are introduced even to meet the requirements of an episode. These are conspicuous by their absence also amongst the numerous objects of worship,—the Bo-tree, the Diamond-throne, the Jewel-walk, the images noted by the Chinese pilgrims. The footprints of the Buddha, as known to Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, were worshipped nowhere else than in a Buddhist shrine in the region of Gandhāra and Adam's Peak in the island of Ceylon.

The footprints of the Buddha that are now to be found at Bodh-Gayā side by side with the footprint of Vishṇu are set up in modern times. They pass generally unnoticed by the Buddhist pilgrims who visit the holy site. As a matter of fact, wherever they are set up in a modern Buddhist shrine, they occupy an unimportant place, and may, therefore, be ignored. Anyhow, there is not a single known instance where, like the footprint of Vishṇu, the footprint of the Buddha is worshipped for the release of the departed spirits.

---

[1] *Buddhavaṃsa*, p. 4.

Following the suggestive hint from Professor Kern we have tried to show that *Vishṇupada* and *Gayāśira* were originally astronomical terms, the former denoting the position of the sun in the meridian and the latter, the position of the setting sun.[1] The astronomical terms came in course of time to acquire topographical significance at Gayā, and denote two main places for the offering of *piṇḍas* for the release of the departed spirits.[2]

Having regard to these facts, it is difficult to think with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra that the prevalence of the worship of Vishṇu's footprint amongst the Hindus was due to the prominence accorded by the Buddhists to the worship of footprints of the Buddha at Bodh-Gayā.

The origin of the worship of *Śrīpadas* is still wrapt indeed in mystery. The Vinaya injunction restraining the Buddhist monks and nuns against witnessing portraits stood in the way of human figurations of the Buddha and his disciples in the earlier stage of Buddhist art. But the requirements of the episodes that were to be represented compelled the Barhut artists to have recourse to the footprint or footprints.

As for Vishṇu's footprint, the original notion is apparently astronomical. But the origin of the worship of the footprint may be traced back to ancestral worship. This is suggested by the widely prevalent Hindu custom of taking impressions of the feet of father or of grandfather, generally after his death, on a piece of cloth by means of sandal paste, and keeping it up as an object of veneration by the descendants.

---

[1] Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 98.

[2] Book I, 45 p.

———0———

GAYĀ AND BUDDHA-GAYĀ

BOOK III

OLD SHRINES AT BODH-GAYĀ

[INSCRIPTIONS]

1. TASK DEFINED

Here our task is to edit the various inscriptions which still linger on the remnants of the pillars of the old Jewel-walk shrine, the edges of the upper surface of the covering stone-slab of the old Diamond-throne, the different parts of the old Stone-railing and the pedestal of an old image of the Buddha still in his Bodhisattva state. As regards the old Stone-railing, we are to edit all the inscriptions, both those which were incised at the time of its first erection and first repair and those which were incised in after ages having no bearings on the history of its construction. We are to offer our own readings and interpretations only in those cases where previous attempts have proved unsatisfactory; in the remaining cases we must remain content with quotations from previous publications.

I. INSCRIPTION ON THE COVERING STONE-SLAB OF THE OLD DIAMOND-THRONE

[Noticed by Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 1892, pp. 20, 58, pl. x. 11; Liiders, *List of Brāhmī-Inscriptions* in *EI*, 1909-10, Vol x, No. 948; Barua, *IHQ*, 1930, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 17.[

....matā-(pituno kā) rito [.]

.......................caused to be made for the benefit of mother and father.

[Notes :—Cunningham rightly says that "all that remains of this inscription is so much injured that very little can be read consecutively. There are faint traces of a large number of letters on the western edge of the upper surface of the covering stone-slab. We find it difficult to agree with Cunningham when he inclines to opine that letters certainly belong to the Indo-Scythian or early Gupta period, about the 2nd century A. C." and that the two words which distinctly precede *matā-(pituno)* are *patimā patithapet*, "statue established". The words are rather *pajāya hitāya* than anything else. In our opinion, the forms of the Brāhmī letters are in no way different from those of the letters in the inscriptions of Kuraṅgi (passim).]

II. MASONS' MARKS ON THE PILLAR-SHAFTS AND FIXED PILLAR-BASES OF THE OLD JEWEL-WALK SHRINE

[Noticed by Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* 1892, pp. 8, 26, pl. IV; Liiders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions in EI*, 1909-10, No. 938; Barua, *IHQ* 1930, Vol VI, No. 1,pp. 2-3.]

The main inscription or set of inscriptions recording the name of the donor or donors by whose munificence the old Jewel-walk shrine was erected has, if at all it was there, vanished with its demolition and disappearance. All that now remains of the ancient Jewel-walk shrine consists of a pillar-shaft bearing masons' marks in the shape of the Brāhmī vowel letter *a* and a number of fixed pillar-bases found in two separate rows, those in the southern row bearing serially the masons' marks in the shape of the Brāhmī vowel letters and those in the northern row, in that of the Brāhmī consonant letters, the series in each case beginning from the western margin. It is a fact that in each row there were eleven fixed pillar-bases and eleven corresponding pillar-shafts, each of the bases serving as an *udukhala pāsāṇa* for nailing a pillar-shaft into it. According to Cunningham, the eleven vowels comprised *a ā*, *i ī*, *u ū*, *e*, *ai*, *o*, *au*. and *ah*, and the eleven consonants were *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*, *ṅa*, *cha*, *chha*. *ja*, *jha*, *na* and *ṭa*. In point of fact, however, he was able to trace just six letters on the six surviving fixed pillar-bases, the vowel *a* on the first base of the southern and the consonants *ka*, *ga*, *cha*, *ja*,and *ṭa* on the five bases of the northern row. Dr. Liiders' list contains just four letters, *a*, *ka*, *ṅa* and *cha*. What is really important to note from the point of view of date is that the general forms of these letters or masons' marks closely resemble those of the Brāhmī alphabet in the inscriptions of Kuraṅgi.

III. FIFTEEN INSCRIPTIONS OF KURAṄGI ON THE FIFTEEN PILLARS OF THE OLD STONE-RAILING

[Noticed by Prinsep, JASB, 1836,Vol. V, p. 658, pl. xxxiii, JASB, 1837, vol. vi, p. 468; Kittoe, *JASB*, 1847, vol. xvi, Part I, p. 339; Cunningham, *ASR*, 1871, vol. I, p. 10, pls. vii, ix; Cunningham, *ASR*, 1873, vol III, p. 88, pl. xxvi; R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*,1878, pp. 182 foll.; Indraji, *IA*, 1880, vol ix, p. 142; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* 1892, p. 85, pl. x; Liiders, *List of Brāhmī Insciptions* in *EI*, 1909-10, vol. x, Nos. 939-42; Bloch. *ASR*, 1908-9, p. 147; Barua, *IHQ*, 1930, vol. vi, No. 1, pp. 6-7.]

a. Nos. 1-4

Ayāye Kuraṃgiye dānaṃ [.]

The gift of the Noble Lady and Matron Kuraṅgi.

b. No 15.

Ayāye Kuraṃgiye dinaṃ [.]

Donated by the Noble Lady and Matron Kuraṅgi.

[Notes:—Dr. Bloch rightly points out that "not less than fifteen times (which is to say, on not less than fifteen railing pillars) was met with the following well-known inscription—*Ayāye Kuraṃgiye dānaṃ*", and that "in one instance, the inscription has *dinaṃ*, which, of course, is Sk. *dattam*, given. The honorific epithet *Ayā*, Sk. *Āryā*, seems to signify the high social position and benevolence of Kuraṅgi as well as her superior rank as a Buddhist nun or lay woman. *Dinaṃ*, even if it was not due to an error on the part of the scribe, is as good a reading as *dānaṃ*, the use of *dinaṃ* as a substantive being not uncommon in Pāli, cf *dinnaṃ hoti mahapphalaṃ*, where *dinnaṃ* simply means *dānaṃ* (literally, that wnich is given away as a gift[1].]

[1] Barua and Sinha's *Barhut Insciptions* note on *Aya*.

IV. THE INSCRIPTION OF SIRIMĀ ON A MUTILATED PILLAR OF THE OLD STONE-RAILING

[Noticed by Bloch, *ASR*, 1908-9, p. 147; *Barua IHQ*. 1930, vol. vi, No. 1, pp. 7-8.]

Rāño Iṃ(dāgimitrā) [... ....] (S) irimāye—[.]

Rāño Iṃdāgimitrā [sa pāsādā-chetikā-] Sirimāye [dānaṃ.]

[The gift] of Sirimā, a female donor from the Indrāgnimitra-prāsāda.

[Notes:—Dr. Bloch is the first Indian epigraphist to observe that the name of King Indrāgnimitra is met with in a mutilated inscription on one of the railing pillars. The inscription has been damaged in the middle by a mortice hole cut through it on that part of a face of the railing pillar where the missing letters were incised [Fig. 30]. The space covered by the breadth of the mortice hole is wide enough for seven letters restored above as *sa pāsādā-chetikā-*, *sa* being the genitive case-ending of *Iṃdāgimitrā*. The epithet *pāsādā-chetikā* has been supplied from the two coping inscriptions of Kuraṅgi and Sirimā (*passim*). The word *chetīkā*, equated with *chedigā* of the Jaina Prakrit, must mean 'a female donor'. But treated as an equivalent of the Pāli *cheṭikā*, it will mean 'a maid-servant' or 'a female attendant'.]

V. THE INSCRIPTION OF NĀGADEVĪ ON A PILLAR OF THE OLD STONE-RAILING

[Noticed by Bloch, *ASR*, 1908-9, p 147; Barua, *IHQ*, 1930, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp 8-9.]

Rāño Brahmamitrasa pājāvatiye Nāgadevaye dānaṃ [.]

The gift of Nāgadevī, the wife of King Brahmamitra.

[Notes:—Cunningham and Dr. Lüders wrongly interpret the term *pājāvatī*, as employed here, as meaning 'a brother's wife or sister-in-law', in the light of Sk. *prajāvatī*. Dr. Bloch rightly renders it in the sense of a wife in the light of the Pāli *pajāpati*. Strictly speaking, the word means in Pāli, precisely as here [Fig. 31], 'a wife who is a prospective mother feeling or having a chance to feel *dohala* or the peculiar longing of a pregnant female for eating something, cf. Vānarinda-jātaka (Fausböll, No. 57). Here we may refer to two Pāli Canonical passages : (1) Vinaya Sutta-vibhaṅga, Bhikkhu-vibhaṅga, Saṃghādisesa, II.1.1, in which the word *pvjāpati* occurs as a synonym of *bhariyā*, meaning 'a wife': and (2) *Ibid*, Saṃghādisesa, V. 1. 1, in which an unmarried girl (apatikā kumārikā) is said to have been selected as a suitable bride for an unmarried young man (apajāpatika kumāraka).]

VI. THE INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHA ON A RAIL-BAR OF THE OLD STONE-RAILING

[Noticed by Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 1892, p. 15, Pl. x; Lüders, *List*, No. 945; Barua, *IHQ* Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 9-10.]

Amoghāsa dānaṃ [.]

The gift of Amogha.

[Notes:—The insribed rail-bar is now preserved as an exhibit in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Like the rail-bar bearing the inscription of Bodhirakshita (*passim*). it is considerably shorter, as compared with the uninscribed rail-bars that now survive, and the Brāhmī letters, too, are prominently flat at the base, a feature, which goes to connect the labels chronologically with the Hāthigumphā and other old Brāhmī inscription in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves that are placed by Rai Buhadur Ramaprasad. Chanda immediately after the inscriptions of Kuraṅgi from the point of view of the chronological development of Indian palæography.]

VII. THE INSCRIPTION OF BODHIRAKSHITA ON A RAIL-BAR OF THE OLD STONE-RAILING

[Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, 1873, Vol. III, p. 81, Pl. XXVI; Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, P. 184; Indraji, *IA*, Vol. i, P. 142; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, P. 16, Pl. X; Lüders, *List*, No. 446; Bloch, *ASR* 1908-9, P. 196; Barua, *IHQ*, Vol. VI, No. 1, PP. 10-11.]

Bodhirakhitasa Ta(ṃ)bapa(ṃ)nakasa dānaṃ [.]

The gift of Bodhirakshita,—a man of Tāmraparṇi (Ceylon or Tinnevelly region).

VIII. THE INSCRIPTION OF SOME DONOR ON A RAIL-BAR OF THE OLD STONE-RAILING

[Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, 1873, Vol. III, P. 89, Pl. XXVI. 2; Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, P. 183; Lüders, *List*, No. 947; Barua, *IHQ*, Vol. VI, No. 1, PP. 11-12.]

Paṭihāra...Nā.........dānaṃ [.]

The gift of a donor of (?) Pratīhāra, the initial of whose name or designation is Nā.

IX. TWO COPING-INSCRIPTIONS OF KURAṄGI AND SIRIMĀ

[Noticed by Mitra, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological collections in the Indian Museum*, 1883, Part I, pp. 130 foll.; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 13, pl. x; Luders, *List*, Nos. 143-4; Bloch, *ASR*, 1908-9, p. 147; Barua, *IHQ*, vol. vi, No. 1, pp. 12 foll.]

a. No. 1

(Rāño Kosi)ki-putrāsa Iṃdāgimitrāsa pājāvātiye jivāputrāye Kuraṃgiye dānaṃ [:] rājā-pāsādā-chetikā-(Siri)mā(ye) [dānaṃ.]

b. No. 2

[Rāño Ko]siki-putrāsa Iṃdāgimitrāsa pājāvātiye jivāputrāye Kuraṃgiye dānaṃ [:] rājā-pāsādā-chetikā Si[rimāye dānaṃ.]

The gift of Kuraṅgi, the wife of King Indrāgnimitra,—[Kuraṅgi who is] the mother of living sons : [the gift as well] of Sirimā (Śrīmatī), a female donor from [the monastic abode]—"Indrāgnimitra's Palace."

[Notes :—These two inscriptions [Fig. 32] have so far puzzled the Indian epigraphists. Cunningham's reading *Asoka-putrāsa* and Bloch's *rājā-pāsādā chetikāsa* have proved altogether misleading. The first of the two photo reproductions of the inscribed coping-pieces in Cunningham's Mahābodhi hardly leaves any room for doubt as to the intended epithets of Iṃdāgimitra being *rājā Kosiki-putra*, and *Sirimāye* being the intended personal name after *pāsādā-chetikā*. The word *chetikā* is here far from signifying a 'shrine' or 'sanctuary'. It is just an epithet of Sirimā who is a joint female donor of the two coping-pieces. We may safely take *Iṃdāgimitrāsa rājā-pāsāda* to be an expression very similar to the Pāli *Migāramātu-pāsāda* by which was meant the monastic abode or retreat erected by Lady Viśākhā, honoured as the mother of her father-in-law—Migāra the Banker.

Kosikiputra is just a matronymic like *Gāgīputa* and *Vāchhīputa* occurring in the Barhut Gateway inscriptions, and it suggests that polygamy was prevalent among the royal families. The same matronymic is met with in numerous other inscriptions noticed by Lüders in his List.

The Bengali *Jeyas poyāti* which is nothing but a phonetic contraction of *Jivaputrā pājāvatī*, Sk. *jīva-putrikā prajāvatī*, implies the traditional pride of a Hindu wife as "a mother of living sons." The expresson, as distinguished from mere *pājāvatī* occurring in the inscription of Nāgadevī (*ante*), serves also to bring out the elderly state of Kuraṅgi, here represented as the wife of King Kauśikīputra Indrāgnimitra.]

X. THE BODH-GAYĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION

[Noticed by Cunningham, *Mahābodhiya* p. 53, pl. xxv ; Barua, *I.H.Q.*, 1933, Vol. ix, No 2.]

[L 1]—Mahārājasya Tr(i)kama(l)asya s(aṃ) 6o 4 gri (3) di 5 ??syā pūrvvaya bh(i)kshu-vinayadharasya vihārasya sadhevihāri vitā……… kshu………

[L. 2]—Amātya-dhuravihāre svakena samartho śa????? śailikā bodhisatva-paṭimā sīharathā pratisthāpayati 2 [.] Upāsikāye arthadharma-sahāyetiye dhat ?……? kshu……ye sarvā……

[L. 3]—………(sa)hāyatā dharmakathikena ??tā [.] Imenā kuśala-mūleṇā mātāpitṛiṇā (ṃ) pūjāye bhavatu upādh…… jāye………

[L. 4]—………ye ?vva……[.]

The saṃvat 64, the 5th day of the 3rd summer month, during the reign of the great king Trikamala, [just] prior to this, the fellow monk who was the upholder of the Vinaya discipline.. …set up on his own strength two lion-vehicled stone-images of the Buddha-Bodhisattva [1]. With the aid of the Buddhist lay woman who was a helper of the noble cause of piety…… [something] was done by a preacher of the Law. Let the merit springing from this act of piety be the share of mother and father [to begin with], of the preceptor……

[Notes :—This is an inscription of four lines incised on the pedestal of an old inage at Bodh-Gayā representing the Buddha still in his Bodhisattva state [Fig. 33]. The first line is almost intact, the second and third lines are badly injured in places, while the fourth line is almost wholly effaced beyond restoration. It is dated in Saṃvat 64 of an era which is either Śaka or Gupta or an era of which the identity is unknown. The language and style of the record are similar to those of the Mathurā image inscriptions incised during the reign of Kaṇishka and other Kushāṇa kings. It imdicates that there was a monastery or temple at Bodh-Gayā known by the name of Amātya-dhuravihāra, the term *dhura* signifying *gantha-dhura* or *vipassanā-dhura*. It certainly contains the earliest reference to anything like images in the Buddhist Holy Land. It will be noted that the Sanskrit of the inscription is not as yet free from such Prakrit forms as *paṭimā*, *sīharathā*, *upāsīkāye*, *pūjāye*, *sahāyetiye*.]

XI. A MEDIÆVAL INSCRIPTION ON THE COPING OF THE OLD STONE-RAILING

[Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR.*, Vol. III. p. 99, pl. XXIX ; Mitra. *Buddha Gayā*, p. 192 ; Indraji, *I A.*, Vol.. IX, pp. 142 foll. ; Cunmingham, *Mahābodhi.*, pp. 23, 58, pl. XXVII ; Liiders, *List* No. 950 : Bloch, *ASR.*, 1908-9, p. 153 ; Barua, *IHQ.* Vol. vi, No 1 pp. 16-19.]

---

[1] We mean of the Bodhisattva just on fhe eve of attainment of Buddhahood.

Text as read and rendered by Bloch

[L. 1]...kārito yatra Vajrāsana-vṛihad-gandhakuṭi [.] Prāsādam-arddha-trikair-dināra-śatais-sudhā-lepya-punar-ṇavīkaraṇena saṃskaritaṃ [.] Atraiva cha pratyaham āchandrārkkātārakaṃ Bhagavato Buddhāya go-śata-dānena ghṛita-pradīpaḥ ākāritaḥ [.] Prāaāde cha khaṇḍa-sphaṭita-pratisamārādhane tat-pratimāyāṃ cha pratyahaṃ ghṛita-pradīpo go-śatenāpareṇa ākāritaḥ [.] Vihārepi Bhagavato raitya-Buddha-pratimāyāṃ go-śatena ghṛita-pradīpaḥ...[.]

[L. 2]........(ghṛita)-pradīpākshayanīvi-nibandhaḥ vihāropayogāya kāritas-Tatra-pi..............bhikshusaṃghaasya (ārya)sya (u)payogya mahāntam-ādhāraṃ khānitam [,] tadanupūrṇaṃ chāprahataka-kshetram-utpāditaṃ [.] Tad-etat sarvvaṃ yan-mayā puṇyopachita-sambhāraṃ kṛitvā... ... .[.]

[L.1] [A shrine] has been made [where the great Diomond-throne temple] is. The temple has been adorned with a new coating of plaster and paint at the cost of 250 *dināras.* And in the temple a lamp of *ghee* has been provided for the Lord Buddha by the gift of a hundred cows, for as long as the moon, sm and stars shall endure. Also by another hundred cows in addition to the cost of small, perpetually recurring repairs to the temple, provision has been made for another lamp of *ghee*, to be burnt daily before the image inside the temple. By another hundred cows provision has been made for having a lamp of *ghee* burnt before the brass image of the Lord Buddha in the monastery (vihāra).........

[L.2]...........a perpetual endowment of a lamp of *ghee* has been made for the benefit of the monastery. There also... .....a large water reservoir has been dug out for the use of the noble congregation of monks and to the east of it a new field has been laid out. Whatever merit may have been acquired by me by all this, may this bo for the benefit of my parents at first... .....'.

[Notes :—This inscription is found incised in two lines on a piece of coping belonging to the old Stone-railing. " The style of writing allows us", says Bloch, " to put down the date at about the 6th or 7th century A. D.]

XII. THE INSCRIPTION OF PRAKHYĀTAKIRTTI ON THE GOPING OF THE OLD STONE-RAIILING

[Noticed by Bloch, ASR, 1908-9,p.156 ; Panday, JBOORS, 1918, Vol. iv, Part iv, pp. 405-II.]

TEXT

[L.1] Laṅkāvīpa-narendrāṇāṃ śramaṇaḥ kulajo'-bhavat [I]

Prakhyātakīrttir-ddharmātmā svakulāmbara-chandramāḥ [II]
Bhaktyā tu bhikshuṇā-nena buddhatvam-abhikāṃkshatā [I]
kārā ratnatraye samyak-kāritā śāntaye nṛiṇām [II]
Tato mayā yat-kuśalaṃ hyupārjjitaṃ
tad astyupādh(yā)ya v—v—v—v—
v — v — — v v — v —
[L.2] Śubhena tenaiva (pha)lena yujyatām [II]

Translation by Panday

"The virtuous Śramaṇa Prakhyātakīrtti having been a descendant of the rulers of the Island of Laṅkā (Ceylon) (has become) moon to the firmament of his family [v.1]."

" This monk, through devotion, desirous of attaining Buddhahood, caused to be performed acts of worship at the Ratna-traya [the Buddhist Holy Triad] for the peace of mankind [v.2]."

" Whatever merit has been acquired by me through this, let that be for the enlightenment of.........Let that very auspicious reward be shared by [v.3]."

[Notes :—This inscription is incised in two lines on a face of a fragment of another piece of coping belonging to the old Stone-railing. According to Bloch, its characters agree in every respect with those of the preceding inscription.

The two words that need explanations are kārā and Ratna-traya. Mr. Panday has convincingly proved by a number of apt quotations from the Divyāvadāna, pp. 133, 136, 289, 329, 420 and 583, particularly by one from p. 329 [Buddhe Dharme Saighe kārān akarishyat]. that *kārā* is a fairly well-known term in Buddhist literature meaning 'acts of worship' and that *Ratna-traya* is nothing but a collective expression denoting the Buddhist Holy Triad.]

XIII. THE INSCRIPTION OF JINADĀSA ON A PILLAR OF THE OLD STONE-RAILING

[Noticed by Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* ; Barua, *IHQ*, Vol. vi, I, pp 29-30.]

L. 1 || Namo Buddhāya ||
L. 2 Parvatād-āgata-pa–
L. 3 ṇḍita-Jinadāsa te–
L. 4 na śrīmān-Mahābodhi–
L. 5 bhaṭṭāraka-darśana–
L. 6 kṛita-yad puṇyaṃ ta–

L. 7 d-bhavati mātā-pi-
L. 8 tṛi-purvagamaṃ kṛitvā-
L. 9 etat-puṇyaṃ likhā-
L 10 pitaṃ || Saṃgatta ||

|| Salutattion to the Buddha ||

The merit which is acquired by Jinadāsa, a learned [Buddhist pilgrim] hailing from Parvata, by means of having a view of the deity of Mahābodhi reigning in his giory as the snpreme lord falls, first of all, to the share of the parents. Having done this, it is [here] caused to be written.

|| Saṃgatta ||

[Notes :—This inscription in ten lines is incised on the upper part of a face of a pillar of the old Stone-railing [Fig. 34]. It is written in Devanāgari characters by Saṃgatta for Jinadāsa and may be assigned to so late a date as the 15th or 16th century A.D. Jinadāsa was evidently a learned Buddhist pilgrim from a mountainous country called Parvata, which is probably the same place as Hwen Thsang's Po-fa-to near Mūlasthānapura or Multan. Parvata ls mentioned by Pāṇini as a country in the Punjab under the group of Takshaśilādi (iv. 3. 93), cf *IA*, Vol. I, p. 22. c.]

XIV. IMPORTANCE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions dealt with in this Book relate all to Bodh-Gayā. These inscriptions, set forth in a chronological order, mark some distinct stages in the growth and development of the life of the Buddhist Holy Land. In the first or earliest stage we have a few votive inscriptions on the edges of the upper surface of the covering stone-slab of the old Diamond-throne, the remnants of the old Jewel-walk shrine and certain pillars and coping pieces of the old Stone.railing. This is undoubtedly the stage of the same kind of sandstone bearing inscriptions that record the name of three female donors, namely, Kuraṅgi, Sirimā, and Nāgadevī, Kuraṅgi and Sirimā appearing as joint donors in the two inscriptions on the sandstone coping. On all the fifteen inscribed railing pillars where the name of Kuraṅgi occurs as a female donor, she has been honoured with the simple but significant epithet *Ayā* or Āryā, signifying that she enjoyed the reputation of being a Noble Lady and Matron. In the two coping inscriptions, however, she figures as the elderly wife of King Kauśikīputra Indrāgnimitra, having the right of pride in being a mother of living sons. Whether in the inscription on a railing pillar or in the two inscriptions on the sandstone coping, Sirimā is described as *chetikā* or a female donor from the royal palace of King Indrāgnimitra, the expression *Iṃdāgimitrāsa rājāpāsāda* being taken as similar to *Migāramātupāsāda*, which stood as a name for the Buddhist monastic abode erected by Lady Viśākhā, the daughter-in-law of Migāra the Banker. Considering in this light we may suggest that Kuraṅgi built one or two Buddhist monasteries at Bodh-Gayā perpetuating the name and memory of her deceased husband King Indrāgnimitra, one of them serving as a retreat for herself in her retirement from the world. These are conceivably the monasteries that existed prior to the erection of the Mahā-Bodhi Saṅghārāma built to the north of the sacred area of the Bo-tree by King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon for the Ceylonese monks and pilgrims during the reign of Samudragupta. Another Buddhist retreat appears to have been erected at Bodh-Gayā during the reign of Aśokavalla Sapādalaksha for the residence of some teachers of the Mahāyāna system of Buddhism. In the inscription of Nāgadevī incised on a Yaksha-pillar she has been described simply as the wife of King Brahmamitra. This particular pillar was *ex hypothesi* included together with a Yakshiṇi-pillar in the middle of the western side of the old sandstone railing in order to create the appearance of a false gate corresponding to the entrance on the east side. From this it cannot but be presumed that when the old sandstone railing was erected, the pillar or pillars donated by Nāgadevī formed an integral part of the whole structure. If so, we have no other alternative but to hold that the ancient railing around the original Bo and the old Diamond-throne temple was erected during the reign of King Brahmamitra who must have been an immediate successor of King Indrāgnimitra then deceased, and that the Noble Kuraṅgi was at that time not a queen in her glory but just a queen dowager.

As distinguished from the whole set of the Barhut votive inscriptions, the Bodh-Gayā railing insciptions are not incised on each separate pillar or rail-bar recording it to be a gift of an individual donor. Here the labels are sparingly engraved either on the pillars or on the coping, the rail-bars being left altogether uninscribed. Only as a rare instance we have three inscribed rail-bars, each of which appears to have been the gift of a male donor, Amogha, Bodhirakshita, or the like. Seeing that the forms of letters in these three inscriptions differ in some respects from those in the inscriptions of Kuraṅgi and other female donors, we may reasonably maintain that these three rail-bars were added at a somewhat later date, probably when a small repair had to be made and certainly long before the granite enlargement of the old Stone-railing during the reign of King Pūrṇavarmā of Magadha.

We meet with the names of a number of Mitra kings in both inscriptions and coin-legends, the Mitra kings other than those mentioned in the legendary dynastic list of the earlier rulers of the Śuṅga-Mitra family of which

Pushyamitra was the founder. The Purāṇas have altogether passed over these names in silence. But there is a big gap in the history of Magadha between the close of the reign of the Śuṅgabhṛitya Kāṇvas in the Ist century B. C. and the beginning of the reign of the Imperial Guptas in North India in the beginning of the 4th century A. D. How this gap is to be filled up is still a problem of some importance. It would seem more risky to assume that the throne of Magadha remained vacant or that Magadha was permanently annexed to some other kingdom during this period than to assume that a new Mitra dynasty rose into power immediately after the disruption of the Kāṇva rule and held sway over Magadha with Kosala and Mathurā as its dependencies. These Mitra kings were evidently connected with the ruling families of Mathurā and Ahichhatra by matrimonial alliances. In the Cambridge History of India these later Mitras have been taken as rulers of a place other than Magadha, the place suggested apparently being the find-spot of the bulk of the extant coins of the Mitras. But to our view, the key to the solution of the problem lies not so much in the discovery or suggestion of a find-spot of the Mitra-coins as in a significant statement in the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga. In the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, the supreme Lord of Kaliṅga claims to have subdued Bṛihaspatimitra, the then king of Magadha [1] together with the inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha as a notable feat of victory during his second North-Indian campaign. This information hardly leaves any room for doubt that Bṛihaspatimitra was a king of Magadha and contemporary of Khāravela

Judged by the letter forms, the Bodh-Gayā inscriptions of Kuraṅgi, Sirimā and Nāgadevī incised during the reign of King Brahmamītra must be dated just a little earlier than the Udayagiri inscriptions of Khāravela, his Chief Queen and others, just in the same way that the sculptures of the Bodh-Gayā sand stone railing are treated in respect of the common representations just a little earlier than those of the Udayagiri caves excavated during the reign of Khāravela and his successor.

So we must still hold to Dr. Ray-chaudhuri's theory of a dynasty of neo-Mitra kings reigning in Magadha from the termination of the rule of the Kāṇvas in the middle of the 1st century B. C. and regard Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra as two immediate predecessors of King Bṛihaspatimitra who was the weaker rival and contemporary of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga. That is to say, we are of opinion that the old Diamond-throne temple, the

---

[1] Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*: *Magadhaṃ cha rājānaṃ Bahasatimitaṃ pāde vaṃdāpayati.*

Jewel-walk shrine and the old Stone-railing were famous erections of female piety towards the close of the 1st century B. C. and that the first small repair of the sandstone railing calling for an addition of a few rail-bars occurred shortly after, though not later than, the middle of the 1st century A. D.

In the third stage, also characterized by the use of sandstone as an art-material, we have an important inscripiion on the pedestal of an old image of the Buddha still in the Bodhisattva state, dated in Saṃvat 64 during the reign of Mahārāja Trikamala. The general wording and style of this inscription are closely similar to those of the Jaina and Buddhist image inscriptions incised at Mathurā during the reign of Kaṇishka and other Kushāṇa kings and the particular image on which the inscription occurs is carved like another standing figure of the Buddha-Bodhi sattva in a sandstone of Mathurā. In this inscription, the donor claims to have set up two such Buddha-Bodhisattva images of stone (śailikā Bodhisatva-paṭimā) in a monastery called Amātyadhuravihāra. Whether the given date Saṃvat 64 is to be iuterpreted in terms of the Śaka or some other current era, it would seem certain that the official language of India had not till then fully attained the stage of the sonorous Sanskrit of the Praśastis keeping clear of the elements of Prakrit. That is to say, the inscription can by no means be regarded as later than the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. and the two figures must be counted among the Buddha images noticed by Fa Hian in the then existing Buddhist sanctuaries at Bodh-Gayā in the beginning of the fifth century A. D.

The fourth stage represented by a late mediæval Sanskrit inscription takes us immediately beyond the date of erection of the Great temple, the granite enlargement of the old Stone-railing and its installation on a wider plinth, and the visit of the great Chiuese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. This is indeed the stage of the first thorough repair of the great temple and permanent provisions made for its recurring repairs and white-washing. This is also the stage when some brass images (*raitya-Buddha-pratimā*) figured among the permanent objects of worship along with those of the earlier stone.

Coming to the inscription of Jinadāsa, the learned Buddhist pilgrim from the country of Parvata near Multan, we reach a comparatively modern stage characterized by the votive records of Buddhist pilgrims from the North-Western part of India as well as Bengal, who professed the Mahāyāna faith. One Sangatta was the scribe who wrote out the inscription in Devanāgari for Jinadāsa.

GAYĀ AND BUDDHA-GAYĀ

BOOK IV

OLD SHRINES AT BODH-GAYĀ

[BAS-RELIEFS AND ART]

1. TASK DEFINED

Here we set ourselves the task of giving a systematic account of the old Shrines at Bodh-Gayā in respect of their bas-reliefs and images, art and architecture. The bas-reliefs are those which are carved on the upper covering stone-slab of the old Diamond-throne, some of the pillars of the Jewel-walk shrine and the component parts of the present Bodh-Gayā railing- As regards the railing, we are to deal with the bas-reliefs that adorn both the sandstone materials of the old Stone-railing and the later granite additions. The images are those which may be clearly supposed to have been installed prior to the visit of Fa Hian. And the art and architecture are those which relate to the old Diamond-throne and Diamond-throne temple, the Jewel-walk shrine, two figures of the Buddha-Bodhisattva, the Bodh-Gayā railing and its various bas-reliefs.

Such later Buddhist shrines as the great temple and numerous small votive *stūpas* and such objects of worship as the later Buddha-images and other Buddhist figures lie outside the scope of this book. The task here proposed is nevertheless important and difficult enough to deserve a very careful investigation and special treatment. If this is well-done, the remaining task becomes much the easier, not needing any groping in the dark.

Thus, in short, we seek to clear up the background and indicate the the earlier landmarks of the art and architecture of Bodh-Gayā rather than giving a complete account of all that is of artistic importance, earlier or later.

2. THE OLD DIAMOND-THRONE

The old Diamond-throne is a solid cubical seat set up as an altar inside the old Diamond-throne temple. It was evidently made on the Barhut design as we find it in the important scene of worship of the Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni. The Bodh-Gayā throne shows, however, two covering stone-slabs, one placed over the other, the lower one being highly polished and the upper one, beautifully ornamented on its upper surface and four faces. Historically it represents the seat remaining seated on which the Buddha became a Buddha. Symbolically it represents the triumphant human will to do or die.

3. THE UPPER COVERING STONE-SLAB

The upper covering stone-slab is ornamented on its upper surface with a geometrical pattern, probably without any mystical meaning, apparently designed to prevent it being slippery, while on its four faces it bears an ornamental design of acanthuses of Aśokan fame. On one of the four faces acanthuses are alternated with pigeons symbolising bondage of passion, and on the other face forming the other arm of the angle the alternation is between acanthuses and swans, the latter symbolising emancipation.

4. THE OLD DIAMOND-THRONE-TEMPLE

This was known to Hwen Thsang as the earlier small temple erected by King Aśoka on the site of which was built afterwards a much bigger temple by a Brahmin votary of Śiva-Maheśvara. The shrine, as it now survives, appears to have been an open-pillared square shed, the flat or gabled roof of which rested on four small pillars, characterised each by a bracket on the top. Each of the four pillars shows an octagonal shaft and presumably the capital of each resembled that of an Aśokan monolith. The structure was apparently modelled on the Barhut design in the scene of worship of the Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni (*ante*, pp. 19 foll.)

5- THE JEWEL-WALK

This is represented by a platform of brick, 53 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches broad, and a little more than 3 feet high, bearing upon its upper surface 18 lotus flowers arranged serially in a row, each symbolising a footstep of the Buddha. The Bodh-Gayā Jewel-walk was evidently designed on the model of Barhut.

6. THE JEWEL-WALK SHRINE

The Jewel-walk was built up in the shape of a platform inside an open-pillared rectangular hall with a flat or gabled roof which rested on two rows of pillars : Each of the pillars was nailed into a fixed pillar base. The only pillar which now survives shows an octagonal shaft with a female figure on it. In the upper part we see the lotus ornament of the capital of an Aśokan monolith surmounted by two crouchant lions and a bracket above them. The female figure is an ornamental device rather than a human form of a Yakshiṇī or a demi-goddess (*ante*, pp. 27-28).

7. TWO FIGURES OF BUDDHA-BODHISATTVA

These are the two figures of the Buddha representing that stage of his life when he was not till then a full-fledged Buddha but was vigorously striving for the condition of a Buddha. According to the inscription on the pedestal of one of them, both the figures were installed in *Saṃvat* 64 of the Śaka or certain other then current era and during the reign of one king Trikamala in a monastery called Amātyadhuravihāra. The inscription describes them as *śailikā Bodhisatva-paṭimā sīharathā*, the (two) lion-vehicled stone images of the (Buddha-) Bodhisattva. The art-material in which each of them is carved is Mathurā sandstone; the general wording and style of the inscription, too, go to connect the figures with those carved and installed at Mathurā during the reign of Kaṇishka and other Kushāṇa kings. If the information supplied in the inscription be correct, the pedestal of each of them rested on the back of two lions. But we find one of them in a sitting and the other in a standing posture, and both with *abhayamudrā*. Their drapery differs from that of a figure of the Buddha in that it covers both the shoulders and the body instead of covering one shoulder and passing across the breast. As an artistic type, they mark a stage of development following immediately from that represented by the Buddhist figures set up at Mathurā during the Kushāṇa rule.

8. COMPOSITION OF THE OLD STONE-RAILING

Here we are to imagine the erection of a quadrangular sandstone railing with 64 pillars arranged on a plinth of 246 feet 9 inches leaving an opening of 6 feet to 8 feet for a gate on the east side. Corresponding to the entrance on the east side we must imagine the existence of a false gate on the west side, the appearance of which was sought to be created by two intermediate pillars in the middle, one bearing on its outer face the standing figure of a Yaksha and the other, the climbing figure of a Yakshiṇī or Devatā. We are also to presume that this earlier railing of sandstone was a square or somewhat rectangular enclosure for the original Bo and the old Diamond-throne temple, both of which stood in the centre, and that its plinth lies hidden now under the pavement of the present temple.

Each side of this railing was composed, like the Barhut Inner Railing, of a set of ornamented pillars or uprights arranged in a row, needled by three rows of convex-shaped rail-bars and covered by a massive coping. The rail-bars had nothing but a simple lotus medallion for an ornament on each of the two faces, these being conspicuous by the absence of any other ornamental device or any representation of a scene from the life of the Buddha.

The outer face of the coping was ornamented with continuous bands of lotus blossoms set as it were on a piece of ribbon, each band consisting of five varieties of lotus (pañchavaṇṇa-padumā), appearing side by side or trenching one on the other. It is most likely that in the earlier design the lotuses were juxtaposed without being made to trench one on the other. Its inner face was similarly ornamented with a curious heraldic design, in which one could see continuous strings of animals, some natural, some quite fabulous, there being elephants and lions, bulls and deer, goats and sheep, mingled with winged horses and fish-tailed elephants, lions and rams, all driven or lorded over by a man, the holder of the stick or rod. It goes without saying that the fish-tailed animals represent a type of *makara* in which we reach a combination of the face of an animal, the tail of a fish and the body of a crocodile.

9. COMPOSITION OF THE LATER RAILING

Here by Later Railing we mean the stone-hedge which is known to have been set up by King Pūrṇavarmā of Magadha in about the beginning of the 7th century A. D. pre-eminently as an enclosure for the great temple and the later Bo-tree reared up by this pious monarch.

In one description it is nothing but the old Stone-railing re-erected on a much wider plinth around the great temple and the later Bo with some granite additions adjusted within the framework of the earlier railing in sandstone. And in another description it is but a quadrangular structure, about 10 feet high, with two separate sections on each side, one in sandstone and the other in granite, adjusted according to some definite rule of symmetry and proportion and designed somehow to keep up the general appearance of the earlier railing dismantled at the time of the building of the great temple.

This later railing was provided with four gates on its four sides, each looking like a railed way through the middle of each side of the stone-enclosure. In front of the eastern gate and midway between the stone-railing and the outer brick-wall was erected a *toraṇa* or arched gateway so that a person desiring to reach the temple from the eastern direction had to enter first the enclosed sacred site by the east entrance of the outer brick-wall and then proceed towards the east gate of the stone-railing through the arched gateway in the middle.

As the gate-pillars of the earlier railing sufficed for only one gate, namely, that on the south, three pairs of new granite pillars had to be supplied for three additional gates on the east, the west and the north.

Thus, upon the whole, the four granite sections, the three additional gates and the one arched gateway in granite became the distinctive features of the railing under notice.

In setting up this railing the two gate-pillars of the earlier sandstone railing were shifted from the east side and posted as pillars for the south gate. The Yaksha and Yakshiṇi pillars which originally stood in the middle of the west side of the earlier railing creating the appearance of a false gate had to be shifted in order to make rooms for two new gate-pillars in granite. Precisely how these two pillars were utilised in the later railing we do not know. One thing would seem, however, certain that keeping them intact the builder of the later railing could not have utilised them except as intermediate pillars in some of the sandstone sections.

So far as the granite additions go, the pillars, the rail- bars, the coping-pieces and the gate-pillars were fashioned, more or less, after those of the earlier railing. The first point of difference to be noted is that the half-lotus medallions in the lower row of the pillar ornaments were made somewhat elongated so as to render them symmetrical with the panels in the upper row. In the pericarps of the full lotus-medallions in the middle row the female busts came to have precedence over the male. Among the upper panels, just one contains a Jātaka-scene. while the remaining ones are filled with certain figures with auspicious or symbolical meaning, e. g., a moving bull, a sucking calf, flying or floating angels including garuḍas, Kīrttimukhas and Buddhist stūpas [Fig. 35.40]. The rail-bars, exactly like those of the earlier railing, were embossed on both faces with full lotus blossoms.

As regards the granite gate-pillars, in the middle panel of one we come across a dancing human pair with a characteristic amorous posture (Fig. 41) apparently designed on the model of the human pair in love gesture in ihe middle panel of one of the two gate-pillars of the earlier railing. In the lower space of one we have an imposing figure of a royal personage with his sceptre-like trident, standing with a dignified bearing, as though, guarding the approach to the great sanctuary [Fig. 46]. It is most probable that this particular pillar belonged to the east side. In the lower space of the gate-pillar on the north side we meet with a *stūpa*-model differing considerably in shape and design from those on the earlier railing.

Only the inner face of each of the six gate-pillars in granite had spaces for carvings owing to the exigency of having to provide the three other faces or sides with mortices for the cross-bars of two railings. The tws gate-pillars of the earlier railing bore sculptures on their three faces.

In adjusting them to the new situation, the sculptures on all but the inner face had to be damaged or cut away to make room for mortices.

10. COMPOSITION OF THE PRESENT RAILING

The Present Railing is substantially the Later Railing with some minor additions and alterations that had to be made after the advent of the destructive forces of Islam, These additions and alterations were undoutedly made during the Burmese repair of the sacred shrines at Bodh-Gayā. Two of the corner-pillars having been damaged, namely, those at the north-east and south-east corners, the Yaksha and Yakshiṇi pillars were made to take their places at the cost of the sculptures on their inner faces. The injudicious readjustment was responsible in the case of one of the intermediate pillars in sandstone for the partial mutilation of an inscription of Sirimā[Fig 19],

11 CARVINGS ON SANDSTONE PILLARS

The carvings on the pillars of the old Stone railing are nothing but so many ornamental devices. On all but the four corner, two gate and two false-gate pillars the devices are in the shape of half or full lotus flowers, the half lotuses belng represented either in full or in bare outline and the full lotuses occurring either with or without some additional designs in their pericarps. The half lotuses represented in full fill the lower row of ornaments, those represented in bare outline fill the upper row, while the full ones, either with or without additional designs, fill the middle row on both the faces. The half lotuses in bare outline and with somewhat elongated bases appear as so many test-tube-shaped panels for various bas-reliefs.

So far as the inner face of each of the two false gate pillars goes, the ornamental devices are of the same pattern as those on other intermediate pillars. As for the outer face of the Yaksha pillar, the whole of the space below the test-tube panel in the upper row is occupied by the figure of the demi-god and his vehicle. The space on the outer face of the Yakshiṇi pillar just suffices for the figure of the climbing demi-goddess and her assistant.

Each of the two gate pillars is characterised by a band in the middle forming three quadrangular panels on three faces exposed to view each face having a half-lotus ornament in the lower row and a test-tube panel in the upper. In one example we find that the space below the middle band is ornamented with a bas-relief.

Turning at last to the four corner pillars, we notice that each of the two faces exposed to view from outside is divided into four quadrangular panels containing distinct bas-reliefs.

Now leaving aside the half lotuses in the lower row and the full lotuses without additional designs in the middle, we can say that the remaining ornamental devices consist of certain astronomical representations, some of which are in duplicates, a demigod and a few demigoddesses, certain auspicious symbols, some sectional representations of the shrines reminding one of the four memorable events in the life of the Buddha, a representation of the miraculous growth of a Bo-tree, a demonstration of the reign of the Bo-tree, a scene of worship of a woodland shrine by a herd of elephants, and a few bas-reliefs depicting select scenes from the life of the Buddha, present and past, according to a set scheme of his biography based essentially on the Mahāpadāna story of seven Buddhas, the last of whom was Gautama the Buddha who is no other than Buddha Śākyamuni.

The astronomical representations include, among others, a powerful figure of the Sun, the figures in duplicates symbolising the Signs of the Solar Zodiac and the Nakshatras of the Lunar Zodiac as well as the figures of some of the individual stars.

The demigod is no other than the Yaksha figured on the outer face of the Yaksha-pillar. Among the three demi-goddesses we have to count the Yakshiṇi or Devatā figured on the outer face of the Yakshiṇi-pillar. The remaining two demigoddesses are no other than Śrī and Gaṅgā, the former figuring in several examples and the latter in just two test-tube panels.

The four memorable events in the life of the Buddha are his Birth, Enlightenment, Preaching of the First Sermon and Great Decease.

The seven Buddhas in view are Vipaśchit (Vipassi), Śikhī, Viśvabhṛit (Vessabhū), Kakutsandha (Kakucchandha), Koṇāgamana, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni.

We shall take up these representations one by one and describe them in detail below.

12. ASTRONOMICAL REPRESENTATIONS

(1) SŪRYA

THE SUN

This relief is contained in one of the quadrangular panels on a face of the north-western corner pillar. The panel is bounded by two entemblatures, one at the top and the other at the bottom, the upper entemblature with its three dwarfs device separating it from the topmost relief and the lower entemblature with a rail device separating it from the relief below it. It is flanked, like other reliefs of its kind, by two pilasters, each of which is characterised by an octagonal shaft, a lotus capital, a crowning animal figure, a bracket ornament and a crouchant lion facing the panel from each side.

The relief presents the picture of a one-wheeled war-chariot drawn by a team of four horses, two going to the left and two to the right. The chariot shows a high frame in front, and a similar frame on each side. It was evidently meant to have a frame also at the back. The horses have waving plumes, and they are represented in profile or three-quarter view. The driver with a turban as his head-dress remains standing on the fore-part of the chariot, holding the upper edge of the front frame with his left hand, and holding up his right hand in a manner, which is clearly indicative of the attitude of a charioteer holding the reins. Behind the charioteer and at some distance we see a big disc-like object under an umbrella [Fig. 42]. Cunningham takes this object to represent a second umbrella, while Dr. Mitra takes it to be a nimbus formed by the back framing of the chariot.[1]

Both the suggestions would seem wide of the mark. The size and circular rim of the object resemble indeed those of the umbrella over it. But the plainness of its inner side and its erect position suggest rather the idea of a disc resting on its edge under an umbrella. Had the object been meant to represent the back framing of the chariot, there is no earthly reason why it should appear far bigger than the frame in front, or why its rim should appear as a complete circle instead of appearing as a segment of a circle. The frame of the chariot, whether in front or on each of its sides, looks like a segment of a circle, and certainly not as a complete circle. The correct reading of the object would be to take it as a rayed disc kept vertically under an umbrella.

---

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Report for 1871-72.

In it Cunningham finds a representation of Sūrya, or the Sun, driving a four-horsed chariot, with two attendant archers shooting his rays like arrows upon the earth" in imitation of "the well-known classical representation of Phœbus Apollo in his chariot drawn by four horses."[1]

Dr. Mitra finds in it a representation of "an Indian war-chariot drawn by four horses, two going to the left and two to the right."[2]

Cunningham argues his case thus: "In this treatment there is a decided evidence of Greek influence in the restricted number of four horses attached to the chariot; for the Indian Sūrya, from the earliest times down to the present day, has always been represented as driving a chariot with seven horses. In the Ṛig-Veda he drives 'seven boys' or bright-backed steeds, and in all the Brahmanical sculptures there are seven horses carved on the pedestal, which are being driven by Aruṇa, while two attendants on each side shoot downwards the golden arrows of the solar rays. The chariot, however, is Indian, as may be seen by comparing it with the specimen in figure 3 of plate XXVII from the Sanchi Tope. But whence came the four horses? To this question I can only reply, 'from the Greeks', and in proof of this opinion I have given in figure 2 of the same plate a sketch of the well-known classical representation of Phœbus Apollo in his chariot drawn by four horses. It is true that this composition is of a later date than the age of Aśoka; but as both the chariot and horses are mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Helios, they are much earlier than the time of Aśoka. That this particular treatment of the subject was familiar to the Eastern Greeks we learn from a recently discovered tetradrachma of Platon, on which Helios radiated is represented driving to the right in a chariot drawn by four horses. There was a famous temple of the Sun at Taxila, of which place Aśoka had once been governor during his father's life-time. Here then the Indians might have seen the Greek representation of the Sun-god, which was afterwards carried to Palibhothra by either pure Greek or half Greek sculptors"[3].

Dr. Mitra defends his contention thus: "The premises from which these conclusions have been drawn are, however, not correct, and the conclusions are consequently wrong......the group has nothing to do with the sun. The pose of the central figure is not like that of the Greek Apollo, but that of a plain turbaned Indian charioteer, and the side figures are two amazonian ladies, not males as delineated by General Cunningham, shooting at men, who are shown falling down in pain from the wounds they have received. In General Cunningham's drawing the nimbus has been converted into a second umbrella. It is really nothing more than the back framing of the chariot. But assuming the arrows to be emblematic of rays, it should be observed that the rays of the sun may be fiercely and intolerably hot, and, as a matter of fact, sun-strokes are common enough in India during the hot weather; but the rays are invariably described by poets as beneficent to mankind and not causing men to tumble down with uplifted hands, and holding their wounded sides in great pain. And the fact of the bas-relief having represented such wounded figures is quite enough to dissipate the solar theory. The number and position of the horses are no doubt similar, but, bearing in mind that the chariot in Greece and in India was of the same shape, we may ask, could an artist, whether Greek or Indian, represent effectually horses in bas-relief in other than profile, or three-quarter view? A front view of a horse in bas-relief would show only the fore part, or must project considerably more than what any bas-relief would admit of; consequently the Greeks generally adopted the profile, or three-quarter view,—in the former case ranging the horses in a line, so as to show the side of one and parts of the heads and legs of the others, and in the latter case showing the front view of the chariot with half the number of horses running on one side and the other half on the other, an arrangement which militated against all laws of the resolution of forces, which could make the chariot move onwards. This unnatural and awkward position was necessary for the sake of art, and could not be avoided; and if we find a similar disposition under similar circumstances in India, we see no reason to assume that it must necessarily imply a borrowing or interchange of art. As a matter of fact, the Hindus ranged their horses, according to the exigency of their work, either in profile, as in most sculptures of the Sun-god Sūrya, some on one side and some on the other, as in Fig. 2, Pl. XXXI. The last figure is worthy of particular attention, as it shows ten horses arranged in the same way as we see in the Apollo figure......It might be added that the gist of the argument depends on the similitude of the treatment; but the Greek specimen which is of any weight in the question is later than the Indian; and in the coin of Platon the horses are all on one side. Doubtless Homer alludes to Apollo, but that does not at all imply that in Homer's time Apollo was represented standing on a chariot having two horses running on one side and two others on another side. To assume it would be simply gratuitous, and even then the argument would not advance at all"[1].

---

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Report [illegible] 1871-72, p. 97.

[2] Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, pp. 160-161.

[3] Archæological Survey of India, Report for 1[illegible]-72, P. 97

---

[1] Mitra's *Buddha-Gayā*, pp. 161-63.

Thus Dr. Mitra has tried to controvert Cunningham's hypothesis without being able to build up a new theory of his own. He has tried rather to explain away than to explain the details of the scene. The target of his attack really is Cunningham's suggestion that the Bodh-Gayā scene was conceived and carved in imitation of the Greek representation of Apollo, the Sun-god. The whole of his contention is directed towards this one aim, namely, the destruction of grounds of belief in 'a decided evidence of Greek influence.' In developing his criticism he has succeeded, no doubt, in establishing these six points: (1) that there is just one umbrella over the chariot; (2) that the two women shooting arrows from their bows are the two amazonian guards; (3) that the chariot shows framing on it; (4) that it is not at all evident from Homer's allusion to Apollo that in Homer's time Apollo drove a chariot drawn by four horses, two running on one side and two others on another side; (5) that the Greek specimen of the figure of Apollo on the coin of Platon is later than the Bodh-Gayā relief; and (6) that the representation of horses in profile or three-quarter view may be due to an exigency of art.

Cunningham cannot certainly maintain that the conception of a chariot drawn by a team of four horses was derived from the Greek tradition. The earlier Canonical and the later Commentary versions of some of the Buddhist Birth-stories make us familiar with the Indian tradition of royal chariots drawn by a team of four horses (*chatuvāhi-yutta-ratha*, *chatusindhavayutta-alaṅkata-ratha*)[1]. In a quadrangular panel on the Prasenajit Pillar of the Barhut railing, King Prasenajit of Kosala is represented as driving a royal chariot drawn by four horses.[2]

But Dr. Mitra cannot reasonably think that the back framing of the chariot is mistaken by Cunningham for a second umbrella. It is neither a back framing of the chariot nor an umbrella but a rayed-disc-like or a spoked-wheel-like object. He has also failed to point out that the Indian specimen of the figure of a deity with a charioteer on his forehead driving a chariot drawn by ten horses, five on one side and five on the other, and all represented in profile or three-quarter view, is presumably a representation of Chandra, the Moon.[3] The rays of the sun may be described by the Indian poets as beneficial to mankind. But does this fact prevent us from imagining that the rays of the sun were described by them as weapons for destroying the demons of darkness ? Cunningham, too, takes the human figure on the forepart of the chariot to represent a charioteer.

---

[1] See, for instance, Fausböll's *Jātaka* Vol. VI. pp. 510-511.

[2] Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl. XI[illegible]

[3] *Vishnudharmottara*, translated by Stella Kramrisch, 2nd edition, 68 p. 90]: "the chariot should have Ambara as charioteer, two wheels and ten horses."

The problem which really matters is whether the sculptured scene is a representation of Sūrya, the Sun, fighting with and destroying the demons of darkness by means of his powerful rays shot down as arrows, or it is a representation of Śakra, king of the gods, marching in his war-chariot to conquer the demons (asuras) who were enemies of the gods. If Dr. Mitra had attacked this as the main problem, he might have obtained better results.

The Bodh-Gayā sculptor has tried to fulfil the requirements of a royal procession as described in the Sāmaññaphala-Sutta[1] and its commentary by providing the chariot with a charioteer to guide its course, as well as with the amazonian guards to keep off the enemies of its royal owner. These details are appropriate to all scenes, where the subject matter is concerned with a royal procession. They are as much appropriate in the case of the chariot-drive of earthly lord as in that of the chariot-drive of Śakra, king of the gods, or in that of the chariot-drive of Sūrya, the Sun, conceived as the lord of the sky. We would have no difficulty in interpreting the scene as a representation of the story of Śakra's march in a war-chariot to destroy the demons as contained, for instance, in the Kulāvaka-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 31), had it not been for the fact that here the chariot is shown as fitted with one wheel.

Traditionally it is the chariot of Sūrya, the Sun, which has one wheel instead of four[2]. There is another very special reason for treating the scene as a representation of the Sun-god, which is this : that, just as in the Greek representation mentioned by Cunningham the figure of Apollo stands associated with the Signs of the Zodiac, so in the Bodh-Gayā plan of treatment this particular representation may be taken as standing in some sort of relation to the Signs of the Zodiac separately represented.

Cunningham's enquiry as to the Greek influence behind the idea of the chariot drawn by four-horses has certainly a meaning if the march of Sūrya, the Sun, is the subject of representation in the Bodh-Gayā relief[3]. It is apparently so in view of the fact that in India, as pointed out by

[1] *Dīgha-Nikāya*, Vol. I. Sutta No. 2.

[2] *Vishnudharmottara*, translated by Stella Kramrisch, 2nd Edition, III, 37, p. 89: "The god with Aruna as his charioteer should be seated on the best of chariots with one wheel, seven horses and bearing six marks."

[3] Jitendra Nath Banerji's observation in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1225, p. 163, are here worth quoting : "But as regards the Bodh-Gayā sculpture there cannot be any doubt that it stands for the Sun-god. Though the representation of this divinity is purely Indian (?) in character, the conception is somewhat analogous to that of the Greeks."

Cunningham, from the earliest times down to the present day, Sūrya has been known as a god driving a chariot drawn by seven horses. The decision of the issue raised by Cunningham depends to some extent upon the result of the enquiry as to whether the conception of twelve Signs of the Zodiac was indigenous to India or it was derived from a Western source.

Mr. Jitendra Nath Banerji strongly maintains that the number of horses is no argument at all in deciding the point at issue because "the Rig-Vedic description of the Sun-god which is certainly the background of the human representations of this divinity in Indian art pointedly refers to the fact of his riding a chariot drawn by one (the horse Etasa), 3, 4 or 7 horses, and there cannot be any doubt that this conception of this divinity is a purely Indian one."

It will be noticed that in the Greek representation, the chariot of Apollo has no charioteer and the standing figure of Apollo has a halo of rays radiated from its head, while in the Bodh-Gayā relief the chariot of Sūrya has a charioteer, and Sūrya himself has been represented not by a human figure but by a rayed disc, or spoked wheel, which is the visible form of the sun.

We must also note that in earlier times there were two different kinds of representation of the Sun-god in India, one of which is met with on a pillar of the Barhut railing and the other in the Bodh-Gayā relief. On the Barhut rail-post the Sun-god figures as a soldier with high-heeled boots, "a monstrously broad straight sword, sheathed in a scabbard, which is suspended from the left shoulder by a long flat belt," and in whose left hand is a bunch of grapes,[1] which is indicative of the fact that the figure had something to do with a grape-growing country, namely, the North-Western region of India, the identity of the Barhut Sun-god with the North-west Indian or Persian being evident from Varāhamihira's description of the figure of the Sun worshipped in the Sun-temples.[2]

---

[1] Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl.XXXII. 1

See Barua's Barhut, Book II. for the identification of the figure as Sun-god clad in what came to be known as Udich[illegible]-vesa.

[2] Discussed by R. G. Bhandarkar in h[illegible] *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems* pp. 151-155 : "The features mention[illegible] by him (Varāhamihira)......are that his (Sun-god's) feet and legs should be enclosed or c[illegible]red up to the knees and he should be dressed in the fashion prevalent in the North [illegible]dichi) ; and that he should be encircled by an *avyaṅga*. Accordingly the images of the [illegible]n that are found in the Sun-temples have boots reaching up to knees and a gird[illegible] round the waist with one end hanging downwards."

(2) RĀŚI-CHAKRA
THE SIGNS OF THE SOLAR ZODIAC

Among the full-lotus medallions or bosses (*padma-parichakras*). there are some in which we can detect *motifs* representing the *Rāśis* or Signs of the Zodiac. The *Rāśis*, better *Saura-Rāśis* or Signs of the Solar Zodiac, are counted as twelve in all in the Sanskrit treatises on astrology (*phalita-jyotisha*). The twelve Signs are enumerated in the order as shown in the subjoined table:—

Serial No.	*Sanskrit name*	*Lation name*
1	Mesha	Aries
2	Vṛisha	Taurus
3	Mithuna	Gemini
4	Karkaṭa	Cancer
5	Siṃha	Leo
6	Kanyā	Virgo
7	Tulā	Libra
8	Vṛiśchika	Scorpio
9	Dhanu	Sagittarius
10	Makara	Capricornus
11	Kumbha	Aquarius
12	Mīna	Pisces

Varāhamihira's Bṛihajjātaka and other extant Indian works on astrology prescribe certain definite rules to be followed in representing the Zodical Signs by symbols or figures for the purpose of visualisation. In accordance with these rules the first Sign—Mesha (*Aries*, the Ram) is to be represented in the form of a ram (*mesha-samāna-mūrtih*); the second Sign—Vṛisha (*Taurus*, the Bull), in the shape of a bull (*vrishākritih*); the third Sign—Mithuna (*Gemini*, the Twin-brothers). by a pair of human beings consisting of a man and a woman in love, the man carrying a mace and the woman, a harp (*gadā-viṇā-bhrit*); the fourth Sign—Karkaṭa (*Cancer*, the Crab). in the shape of a crab (*kulirākritih*); the fifth Sign—Siṃha (*Leo*, the Lion), like a lion (*siṃhah*); the sixth Sign—Kanyā (*Virgo*, the Virgin), by the figure of a damsel in a floating boat, with a lamp in her hand (*pradīpikam grāhya kareṇa kanyā [illegible]usthā jale*); the seventh Sign—Tulā (*Libra*, the Balance), by that of a tradesman weighing goods (*paṇyadharo manushyah*); the eighth Sign—Vṛiśchika (*Scorpio*, the Scorpion), by the likeness of a scorpion (*vriśchika-vigrahah*); the ninth Sign—Dhanu

(*Sagittarius*, the Archer), by a hybrid figure, the lower half of which resembles the body of a horse and the upper half appears like the bust of a bow-man (*dhanvī-manushya-hayapaśchimārdhah*), by the figure of a centaur in the act of shooting an arrow from his bow, as one might say; the tenth Sign—Makara (*Capricornus*, the Goat), by the hybrid figure of an animal-faced (*makara mrigārdhapūrvo makarāparārdhah*); the eleventh Sign—Kumbha (*Aquarius*, the Water-carrier), by the figure of an empty water-jar on the shoulder of a man (*skandhe hi purushasya kumbhah*), its purpose being to present the picture of a man going to fetch water; and the twelfth Sign—Mīna (*Pisces*, the Fishes), by that of two fishes in water (*jale tu mīna-dvayah*).

In the absence of all the rail-bars and rail-pillars, it is difficult to say whether all the twelve Signs were represented on them or not, especially whether these were represented symmetrically to maintain the usual order of enumeration. The carvings as they appear on a piece of the Old Stone-railing *in situ* present the Tulā beside the Siṃha and the Kanyā beside the Tulā, while to maintain harmony with the usual order of enumeration, the figure of Kanyā ought to have been placed to the right of that of Siṃha and the figure of Tulā to the right of that of Kanyā. Anomaly being the rule and symmetry the exception in the tradition of Indian sculptors employed to do work on Buddhist railings, particularly keeping the noted case of discrepancy in view, it may be doubted if the order of enumeration of the Zodiacal Signs was maintained at all in their scheme of treatment of the plastic figures. What is more probable is that they made symbolical representations of the twelve Signs irrespective of the order of enumeration.

It may be clearly noticed that the Sign Vṛisha (*Taurus*) has been represented by the standing figure of a bull, the Sign Siṃha (*Leo*) by that of a lion, and the Sign Makara (*Capricornus*), by that of an elephant-faced *makara*, precisely as prescribed in the Indian treatises on astrology.[1]

In the central circular zone of a similar medallion with lotus-design we see the figure of a buffalo. We are unable to decide whether it is a slightly different representation of the Sign Vṛisha. The Sign Kanyā (*Virgo*) has been represented in the Bodh-Gayā medallion not by the figure of a damsel in a floating boat, holding a lamp in her hand but by the bust of a garland-crowned and garland-wearing damsel.

---

[1] In modern Indian calendar illustrations, the Makara figures, in an exceptional case, as deer-faced. The elephant-faced *makara* is, no doubt, [illegible] customary representation of the mythical fish in Indian art. The figure of a deer-faced *makara* is evidently suggested by a *prima facie* interpretation of the Sanskrit expression *[illegible]igārdhapūrvah*. The word *[illegible]ga* (deer) does not exclude also the idea of goat in the ancient Western symbolism.

The Sign Tulā (*Libra*) is to be represented by the figure of a tradesman weighing goods in a balance. In modern Indian calendar illustrations, this Sign figures either as a tradesman with a balance suspended from his hand or simply as a suspended balance. In the Bodh-Gayā medallion, on the other hand, this figures as a typical Hindusthāni tradesman with a pillow before him, showing a posture of his body as is commonly seen when he is engaged in the act of weighing. Here, in the Bodh-Gayā *motif*, the weighing tradesman alone has been represented without the balance.

As prescribed in the Indian treatises on astrology, the Sign Dhanu (*Sagittarius*) is to figure as a centaur (half-horse half-man) shooting an arrow from his bow, the symbolical device being intended, beyond any doubt, to induce the picture of a bow-man proceeding on a hunting expedition on horse-back. In the Bodh-Gayā *motif*, we have, on the contrary, an interesting and, in a sense, more artistic device conveying the idea of *mrigayā* or deer-hunting by the hybrid figure of a bow-man with the body of an antelope. Here the tail of the antelope is unusually lengthened and upstretched so as to present the appearance of a bow, which the bow-man holds by his left hand, while the posture of his right hand presents the characteristic attitude of an archer in readiness to throw an arrow.

According to the prescribed rule of Indian astrological symbolism, the Sign Mithuna (*Gemini*) is to be represented by a human pair, the man carrying a *gadā* (mace) as a mark of his valour and the woman a *vīṇā* (harp) as a mark of her sweetness, and not by two twin-brothers, as required by the ancient Western symbolism. The importance of the mace and harp of ancient Indian symbolism is generally lost sight of in modern calendar illustrations where Mithuna figures as a human pair of lovers in close embrace. In the Bodh-Gaya *motīf*, however, there is a nearer approach to the ancient representation, the medallion presenting a human couple in love, the man holding up flowers in his right hand and a mace lying at the back of the woman.

None need be surprised if we have in another medallion a totally different kind of representation made not by a pair of human beings, a man and a woman in love, or by the twin brothers, Castora nd Pollux, but by a pair of animals, a lion and a doe. This *motif*, as described by Cunningham, presents a scene of "a lion in pursuit of a deer." His description may be

---

[1] Fausböll's Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 38[illegible] *assa (sīhassa) ekāya miga-mātukāya saddhiṃ saṃsaggo.* "The lion formed an intimacy with a doe." The same fact is brought out also in the well-known moral verse :—"Trust kills ; through trust in the doe the lion came to grief."

Vissāsā bhayaṃ anveti sīhaṃ va miga-mātukā.

allowed to stand, if the word 'pursuit' does not suggest any other idea than that of an attempt on the part of the lion to get hold of the doe for mating. The postures of the two animals are clearly suggestive of their amorous contact [Fig. 43]. The Vissāsabhojana-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 93) gives an instance of intimacy between a lion and a doe without an apology.

(3) NAKSHATRAS
THE LUNAR ASTERISMS

When the ecliptic is divided into 12 equal parts, each part is called a *Rāśi.* When the same is divided into 27 or 28 equal parts, each part is called a *Nakshatra* or Lunar Asterism. The asterisms are called Aśvinī, Bharaṇī and the like, each after the name of its *yoga-tārā* or head-star. It may be safely assumed that, strictly speaking, the name of the head-star is Aśvini and that of the whole asterism is Aśva ; the name of the head-star is Mṛigaśirā and that of the whole asterism is Mṛiga ; so on and so forth.

Of the two Bodh-Gayā representations that survive among the lingering remnants of the old Stone-railing, one is in the form of a horse and the other in that of an antelope. This goes at once to prove that the lunar asterisms themselves were the subject of representation, and not the the head-stars belonging to them [Fig. 44].

In the absence of remaining parts of the Sandstone railing it is difficult to premise whether all the lunar asterisms or only a few of them were represented on it.

(4) OTHER MYTHICO-ASTRONOMICAL FIGURES

There are a few other plastic figures [Fig. 45], the symbolism of which is not clear to us. There is, for instance, the figure of a winged elephant. We cannot say whether it represents the celestial elephant Airāvata or some luminary. Secondly, there is the figure of a buffalo. It is uncertain whether it occurs as a form of Vṛisha— the second Sign of the Zodiac or it symbolises the raining cloud described in the Vedic hymns as lowing like a buffalo. Thirdly, there is the figure of a flying bull on a later granite pillar which may be either a representation of the second Sign of the Zodiac or a mere ornamental device. Fourthly, a peacock figures and we are unable to say what it stands for. There is a suggestion from an Indian scholar that it symbolises the Chhāyāpatha or Milky Way. Fifthly, there occurs a fish-tailed *makara* with a female bust, which stands out of its mouth and bends down round the pericarp of a lotus-blossom as if to hold it in the centre of a coil formed by the human head and the *makara* tail tending to meet each other. The figure is veritably that of a mermaid. Sixthly, there is the sitting figure of a bear (ṛiksha). It may be taken to symbolise a constellation. Lastly, the Kīrttimukhas figuring on the earlier as well as the later railing are too well known to need a detailed description.

13. POPULAR HINDU DIVINITIES

The figures of popular Hindu divinities adorned the Bodh-Gayā old Stone-railing as they did other ancient Buddhist shrines of artistic importance, notably the great Stone-railing of the Stūpa of Barhut. The general motive behind these iconic representations was to add to the sanctity, charm asd grandeur of the erection in the eye of the people, the auspicious motive lurking in them being prominent in a later granite figure of a sucking calf (*savatsā dhenu*). As for the secular motive, it is outwardly that of drawing attention to the object of attraction and worship and inwardly that of guarding the sanctuary as a whole, the impressive standing figure of a royal personality, apparently Śiva with a snake hanging down from the wrist of his right hand and the sceptre-like trident held up at full length on his left side (Fig. 46).

On the outer or inner face of the western pillar of the Jewel-walk shrine appears the healthy figure of a female deity carved in one half of the shaft. She is represented as standing on a circular base in the posture of handsomely kneeling down against the shaft with joined hands stretched forward from the bust in an attitude of worship. The figure pointed to the sanctuary of Buddha's footsteps as a place of worship (Fig. 25).

The outer face of one of the two false-gate pillars bore the imposing figure of a demi-god which appeared to be life-size. The demi-god was represented as standing characteristically on a ram-like quadruped and holding a big bunch of water-lilies with stalks. The posture of the body and feet clearly indicates how the man's figure could be balanced on the back of the quadruped serving as vehicle [Fig. 20]. The figure with a reverential attitude was intended to draw attention to the great Bo lying close at hand or just behind as the supreme object of worship. The Barhut figure which was in the background of this demi-god is that of Yaksha Ajakāla.

On the outer face of the other pillar of the same false gate one might see the interesting figure of a demi-goddess—a *yakshiṇī* or *devatā*. Her head is prominently adorned with a wealth of thick-grown long hair arranged in the form of a head-dress over her left ear. She wears earrings pendant from her ear-lobes, a chain-and-garland-shaped necklace with a medal in front, a large-and-flat-chain-like waist-belt or girdle round her loins, some bangles and two screw-shaped anklets. There is a savage look in her appearance. Her right foot rests on the right palm of a female attendant who is assisting her in climbing up a tall tree to pluck or plunder its bunches of fruits. She manages to catch hold of the foliage of the tree bent towards one side by placing her left foot on a joint and embracing the tree in her left arm. Though the tree is neither a date-palm nor a cocoanut, from both of which it is distinguished by a branch on its trunk, its general form is apt to remind one of either of the two trees of the palm group. Its arched top is bent towards the left and remains just within the reach of her upstretched right hand.

Two Barhut figures that may explain many of the details of the Bodh-Gayā representation are those of Chandā Yakkhi and Chūlakokā Devatā.

(a) GAṄGĀ-DEVATĀ

Gaṅgā-devatā is described in the Machchhuddāna-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 288) as the presiding deity of the river and custodian of the fishes. The Bodh-Gayā old Stone-railing presents two figures of this river-goddess who is seen riding on the back of an animal-faced *makara* with her right hand elbowed towards the right side of her body. For the Barhut representation of the same deity, the reader may be referred to Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XXXV. In the Bodh-Gayā *motif*, the *makara* figures as a vehicle with its head lifted up and turned over its neck. Here it has rather the face of a lion than that of an elephant; it is rather stationery than moving [Fig]47

(b) SIRIMĀ-DEVATĀ

In the upper panel of one of the rail-posts a goddess may be seen seated not cross-legged but rather in a strange fashion, with her feet closely

---

1 Barua and Sinha's *Barhut Inscriptions*, note on Sirimā.

drawn towards each other and knees kept a little above the ground. She holds up a blossoming lotus-bud in her left hand which she keeps upraised turning it upward and resting the elbow on her left thigh, while she restfully holds a small bundle of lotus-stalks, cut into span-size pieces, in her right hand which is placed across her right thigh. She appears as a prominent bust modelled on a slim waist. She wears bracelets and anklets as well as drum-shaped earrings. Her locks of hair are fastened in a knot over the crown of her head [Fig. 48]

Who this goddess is is the important point of enquiry. She is evidently a Siri-devi of the Sirimā type distinguished in Buddhist literature from Sirī—the divinity ranking among the four Indian Graces, and no less in the Barhut plastic representations. The Barhut figure which was in the background of Bodh-Gayā is that of a goddess who is made to stand in the same attitude of feet, holding a bunch of lotus flowers in her left hand, which is suspended at full length on her left side.

(c) SRĪ OR GAJALAKSHMĪ

Among the ornamental and auspicious devices filling the upper panels of some of the gate, corner and intermediate pillars of the old Stone-railing we meet with two different kinds of representation of Śrī of the Grace or Gajalakshmī type.

In the first kind, the goddess is seen standing gracefully on the pericarp of a lotus flower, keeping her two feet drawn close to each other. She keeps her slightly bent left hand suspended along her left side and holds up a blooming lotus-bud in her right hand stretched forth in front, while two elephants pour water upon her head from two sides, from two jars held upside down. She wears the chignon, apparels and ornaments peculiar to other female deities [Fig. 49]

In the second kind, the goddess stands on the pericarp of a lotus blossom, keeping the heels of her feet in touch with each other and the toes wide apart. She remains standing in a delightful pose, holding a bunch of lotus buds in one hand and that of lotus blossoms in the other, her hands being stretched forth horizontally from her two sides. In this represantation one misses the two elephants anointing the goddess with water poured down from two jars.

The two designs differ from each other chiefly with regard to these two details: (1) the drapery of the goddess, and (2) the representation of the lotus plant. There can be little doubt that here we have varieties of representation of Gajalakshmī or Srī typifying the form of Indran Graces—

Āśā, Śraddhā, Hrī and Śrī, described in Buddhist literature as daughters of Śakra.

14. FOUR CHAITYAS

The Buddhist shrines are broadly classified under these three heads: (1) *Sārīrika-chetiya*, otherwise called *sadhātuka* or simply *dhātu*; (2) *pāribhogika-chetiya*, otherwise called *paribhoga*; and (3) *uddesika-chetiya*, otherwise called *uddisaka*.

The shrines of the first kind comprise all sanctuaries that enshrine the bodily remains or relics of bodily existence. The relics generally consist of the bones and ashes collected from the funeral pyre. Understood in this sense, the collection of relics is not possible until the demise of the person whose memory is to be honoured or perpetuated[1]. A relic, however, is a relic of the body, whether living or dead, and the sanctuary, whether it is a mound (*thūpa*) or a chamber (*dhātugabbha*), is one which enshrines and preserves it.[2]

Those of the second kind comprise all structures that enshrine the things or articles used by the person deceased. The bowl, the robe, the umbrella, the stick, and such other articles of use are included in the list of things fit for enshrinement. The great Bo-tree at the foot of which the Buddha had attained to Buddhahood is usually mentioned as a typical example of things of this description. But even such a natural object of worship is not to be considered apart from a certain structure of art and architecture, whether it be a terrace at the foot or a diamond-throne in front, or an enclosure around, or a pillar marking out the site.

Those of the third kind comprise all sanctuaries that enshrine things which are referential, symbolical or merely suggestive. The footprints, for instance, are suggestive of human figure of the Buddha, in the same way that the diamond-throne (*vajrāsana*) in the shape of a cubical seat of stone is symbolical of the attainment of Buddhahood, the wheel that of Dhamma-chakka-pavattana or Preaching of the First sermon, and the *stūpa* that of the Great Decease. A statue of Buddha (*Buddha-patimā*) is mentioned as a typical example of objects fit for enshrinement.[3] Such objects of worship as these are characterised as *avatthuka manamattaka*,—creations of imagination without a positive basis.[4]

---

[1] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, IV. p. 228.

[2] *Khuddakapāṭha Comy* bearing on *Nidhikaṇḍa-Sutta.*

[3] *Khuddakapāṭha-Comy*, bearing on *Nidhikaṇḍa-Sutta.*

[4] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, IV. p. 228.

According to the Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka, the Buddhist shrines had to be erected originally to meet the pressing popular demand for suitable places of worship in the absence of the Buddha and the erection of structures as work of art and architecture was just incidental to the provision of such places of worship.[1]

A second explanation is offered in the Divyāvadāna in which the pious king Aśoka is represented as saying to Upagupta, his religious preceptor:

"Venerable Sir, this is the yearning of my heart that I would visit for worship those spots where Buddha, the Blessed One, had dwelt and mark them out with (tangible) signs as a favour to posterity".[2]

The Buddhist shrines are all in essence commemorative, the *sārīrika* reminding by the bodily remains, the *pāribhogika* reminding by the things used, and the *uddesika* reminding by the things referential. The proper sites for such shrines are the places where the main incidents of Buddha's life took place and those which became centres of his activity. The four principal sites are Lumbinī, Uruvelā (Bodh-Gayā), Isipatana (Sarnath) and Kusīnārā, and the four main incidents are those of the Birth, the Enlightenment, the First Proclamation and the Great Decease. Each of the four principal sites may, however, be viewed as a place of birth: Lumbinī as the birth-place of Siddhārtha, the potential Buddha; Bodh-Gayā as the birth-place of Buddha; Sarnath as the birth-place of Buddhism; and Kusīnārā as the birth-place of Buddhist art and architecture.

Fa Hian in his Travels, truly records: "The places of the four great topes (? shrines) have been fixed, and handed down without break, since Buddha attained to *nirvāṇa*. Those four great topes (? shrines) are those at the places (1) where Buddha was born; (2) where he attained to wisdom; (3) where he (began to) move the wheel of his Law; and (4) where he attained to *parinirvāṇa*".[3]

In the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta the Buddha is represented as declaring: "Four are the places, Ānanda, that are, to a man of faith, worth visiting for inspiration. What are the four?

(1) By reason of the fact, Ānanda, 'Here the Tathāgata was born', the place of Tathāgata's birth is, to a man of faith, worth visiting for inspiration.

---

[1] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, IV. pp. 228-9.

[2] *Divyāvadāna*,, p. 389- *Sthavir-āyam me manoratho ye Bhagavatā Buddhena pradeśā adhyushitā tān archeyaṃ chihnāni cha kuryaṃ paśchimasyāṃ janatāyāṃ anugrahārtham.*

[3] Legge's *Fa-Hien's Record*, p. 90.

(2) By reason of the fact, Ānanda, 'Here the Tathāgata intuited the unsurpassed intuition of true enlightenment', the place of Tathāgata's enlightenment is, to a man of faith, worth visiting for inspiration.

(3) By reason of the fact, Ānanda, 'Here was the unsurpassed wheel of the Law turned by the Tathāgata', the place of Tathāgata's Turning of the Wheel of the Law is, to a man of faith, worth visiting for inspiration.

(4) By reason of the fact, Ānanda, 'Here the Tathāgata became finally extinguished in that elemental condition of extinction which is without the least residuum for possibility of ignition', the place of Tathāgata's final extinction is, to a man of faith, worth visiting for inspiration".[1]

So far as the Bodh-Gayā representations of four *chaityas* go, it is easy to detect that these were all inspired by the Buddhist traditional regard for the four principal sites and the four main incidents. On the eastern Gateway of the Stūpa of Barhut, the incident of Birth is symbolically represented by the device of two mansions, one placed over the other ; that of Enlightenment by a Bo-tree with a vacant seat before it ; that of the First Proclamation by a floral device of the wheel ; and that of the Great Decease by a *stūpa* or mound. The structural symbols became the main preoccupation of the Bodh-Gayā sculptor with whom the Lion-capital monolith of Aśoka was the symbol for Sarnath and the third main incident.

I. In the upper panel of the present south-west corner-pillar of the Bodh-Gayā Stone-railing, we have a representation of the incident of Buddha's birth by the device of two mansions, one placed over the other. The meaning of the Barhut device is obscured by the intricacy of the later design which is gorgeous as compared with the earlier simple representation [Fig. 50].

II. There survive as many as four slightly different representations of the incident of Buddha's enlightenment. The first three of them fill the upper panels of rail-posts and the fourth fills the upper panel of one of the corner-pillars. The Bo-tree, the diamond-throne and the railing, with or without a gate-chamber and a detached pillar, complete the idea of the shrine of the Bo. In the Bodh-Gayā representations we have an analytical or sectional treatment of these elements [Fig. 51],

---

[1] *Chattar' imāni, Ānanda, saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyānisamvejanīyāni ṭhānāni*, etc.

In one representation, the Bo-tree alone figures with a quadrangular enclosure and without the Diamond-throne. Here it is honoured with two posted umbrellas and two hanging garlands.

In another, only the cubical seat is shown under an umbrella, with a pair of worshippers who remained standing with joined hands, the male on one side and the female on the other.

In the third, only the enclosure figures as a quadrangular path of perambulation upon a colonnade of pilasters.

And in the fourth, we see a two-storeyed temple with an open-pillared hall in the lower storey with a covered verandah in front. The verandah shows a sanctuary with the Diamond-throne enshrined in it. The throne itself figures, as usual, as a cubical seat with a *Triratna* symbol placed upon it. The upper storey shows three small sanctuaries, each containing a Diamond-throne.

III. There are no less than six slightly different representations of the incident of Buddha's first proclamation of the truth. One of them fills a medallion in the middle row, three fill the upper panels of three rail-posts and two appear in the panels of two corner-pillars [Fig. 52].

In the first representation we have a sectional view of two parts of an imitation of Aśoka's Sarnath pillar. Here the lion-capital with the wheel set vertically upon it forms one section and the pillar with its octagonal shaft and bracket forms the other, the two together forming an ornamented cross as it were.

In the second, there is a chapel-like sanctuary with its arched entrance and lattice-work and a cubical seat in front of a pilaster bearing a wheel on its lion-capital. Here the seat indicates the presence of the Divine Master.

In the third, we see a similar design with this difference that here the sanctuary has two arched wings on two sides with two hanging garlands.

In the fourth, we have a front view of a two-storeyed building with an open-pillared hall in the lower storey and two chapel-like sanctuaries with cubical seats in the upper. The sanctuaries present before them a railing and a wheel with a garland hanging from its rim.

In the fifth, one may see a two-storeyed building with an open-pillared hall in the lower storey with a verandah. It presents a cubical seat under an umbrella with a few worshippers in different attitudes of devotion. It is evident from the kneeling attitude of the worshipper on the right that he came to wait on the Divine Master and to persuade him to turn the Wheel of the Law. In other words, the intended scene is that of Brahma-āyāchana.

And in the sixth, one is to see a chapel-like sanctuary, in which a wheel is vertically set upon the lotus-capital of a pilaster. A pair of worshippers remain standing with joined hands on two sides. All these are to be noticed in the upper panel, while in the lower panel one must take note of two big bells suspended from the arched entrances of the sanctuary, each of the bells being provided with a human-shaped striker. The design is apparently meant to represent the upward travel of the sound from heaven to heaven when the Master proclaimed his message at Sarnath.

IV, There are as many as eight different representations of the incident of Buddha's great decease, the six of which are met with in sandstone and the two in granite. Some of the earlier designs present the *stūpā* as dome-shaped and some as bell-shaped. Some appear with worshippers and some without them. Some show flags and some do not. Some are intended to exhibit the materials of which the mounds were made and some are not so intended. In one example, the mound rests on a column with a lotus-pedestal. The models of mound in granite go to show certain structural details that are far beyond the scope of the earlier designs [Fig. 53].

15. THE REIGN OF A BO-TREE

In the upper panel of a rail-post we have a bas-relief presenting a Bo-tree surrounded by a quadrangular railing. It has on each side an umbrella planted on the ground. The garlands are seen hanging from the projected ends of two horizontal bars or beams. Similar garlands may be seen hanging from the top by the sides of the upper part of the tree. The Bo appears as a well-formed tree with a beautiful foliage which is grown proportionate to the height of the trunk and adorned with flowers blossoming over it. It shows three main branches, one in the middle and two on two sides.[1] It may not be the Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni, or that of Vipaśchit (Vipassi), or that of some other Buddha, and yet the effect of representation is the same.

---

[1] Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, p. 157.

The design is intended to represent the glorious reign of a Bo-tree after its enthronement on a rare spot which is honoured in Buddhist tradition as the 'navel of the earth' (*pūthaviyā maṇḍa*),—the centre of the cultured universe.[1]

The customary mode of honouring a Bo-tree on its spot was to rail it in with an enclosure after garlanding and anointing it.[2] The construction of a gate-chamber and the erection of a pillar marking out the site were but structural adjuncts to the earlier idea of a simple enclosure[3].

The Bodh-Gayā representation of the Bo-tree enthroned in the centre of a quadrangular railing without any gateway and pillar may be acounted for by the earlier mode of honouring [Fig. 13].

16. MIRACULOUS GROWTH OF BO-TREES

In this bas-relief Dr. R. L. Mitra notices "an enclosure with several Bodhi-trees, surrounded by the typical Buddhist railings and some vessels for watering the trees."[4]

This is but a 'rough and ready' sort of description which does not suffice for bringing out the real purpose for which the design is intended. A corner view of one and the same quadrangular enclosure is presented in a peculiar perspective enabling the observer to witness and clearly contrast two stages in the miraculous growth of two Bo-trees : (1) the stage of inception, and (2) that of consummation. In the lower view appear two box-like receptacles, each resting on a pilaster which is provided with a two-spouted jug for watering its contents. The receptacle (*i. e.*, the seed-box) on the left is placed under two umbrellas, and the other on the right under three. And in the upper view one is to see two grown up Bo-trees inside the enclosure corresponding to the two seed-boxes in which the Bo-seeds were planted and nurtured. Such is undoubtedly the Bodh-Gayā artistic device for delineating the process of miraculous growth of two Bo-trees from two Bo-seeds [Fig. 12].

The Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka offers a later Buddhist traditional account of the miraculous growth of a Bo-tree, which may be cited below as a characteristic piece of literary description throwing much light on details of the plastic representation. The introductory episode of the Birth-story relatees :—

---

[1] *Kālīñgabodhi-Jātaka* (Fausböll, No. 479.)

[2] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, IV. p. 236. The verse reads :
Nahāyitvāna (? *mahāyitvāna*) *Sambodhiṃ nānāturiyehi vajjamānehi*
mālāgandhavilepanaṃ kāresi, pākāra-parikkhepaṃ kāresi, atha rājā pāyāsi.

[3] *Ibid, p.* 236 : The gloss adds , *Mahābodhimaṇḍe aṭṭhārasa-hatthaṃ suvaṇṇa-thambhaṃ ussāpesi, ...pākāra-parikkhepaṃ kāresi, sattaratanamayaṃ dvārakoṭṭhakaṃ kāresi.*

[4] Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, pp. 156-157.

"In the place where the Bo-tree was to be planted the Elder (Ānanda) had placed a golden jar, and in the bottom of it was a hole ; it was filled with soil moistened with fragrant water. He said, (addressing King Pasenadi of Kosala), 'O king, plant this seed of the Bo-tree,' giving it to the king (of Kosala). But the king thinking that his kingdom was not to be in his hands for ever, and that Anāthapiṇḍika ought to plant it, passed the seed to Anāthapiṇḍika, the great merchant. Then Anāthapiṇḍika stirred up the fragrant soil and dropt it in. The instant it dropt from his hand, before the very eyes of all, up sprang as broad as a plough-head a Bo-sapling, fifty cubits tall ; on the four sides and upwards shot forth five great branches, fifty cubits in length, like the trunk. So stood the tree, a very lord of the forest already ; a mighty miracle ! The king poured round the tree jars of gold and of silver, in number eight hundred, filled with scented water, beautious with a quantity of blue water-lilies and caused to be set there a long line of vessels all full, and a seat he had made of the seven precious things, golden dust he had sprinkled about it, a wall was built round the precincts. He erected a gate-chamber of the seven precious things".

17. THE BO-TREES OF SEVEN BUDDHAS

The Bodh-Gayā scheme of Jātakas, precisely like that worked up on the Barhut Railing, included in it the Mahāpadāna stories of seven Buddhas, the life-history of each of them being intended to be symbolised by a Bo-tree. The seven Buddhas kept in view were Vipaśchit, Śikhī, Viśvabhṛit, Kakutsandha, Koṇāgamana, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni, and the seven Bo-trees in contemplation were the Pāṭalī (*Bignonia Suaveolens*), the Puṇḍarīka or Mango. the Śāla (*Shorea Robusta*), the *Śīrīsha* (Acacia), the Udumbara (*Ficus Glomerata*), the Nyagrodha (*Ficus Indica*), and the *Aśvattha* (*Ficus Religiosa*). On the Barhut Railing the representations were appropriately labelled with short inscriptions, the tree itself being, only in one instance, mentioned by name : *Bhagavato Vesabhuno Bodhi Sālo.*[1] while on the Bodh-Gayā Railing the Bo-trees were made to figure as so many familiar symbols without labels, many of the details in earlier representations being dispensed with. The cognizance of the three or four trees that still survive is possible only by a correct identification of them, the Barhut figures standing as typical for reference and comparison.

---

[1] Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, Jātaka Labels, Nos. 1-7 ; Barua's *Barhut*. Book II, Nos. 1-7.

The reader's attention has already been drawn to some of the Bodh-Gayā representations of the Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni that linger to the present day. In describing the scene of the Reign of a Bo-tree we have kept open the question of identification of the tree whose glory is depicted. We have noticed that in this scene the tree is represented in its sylvan majesty with a round-shaped foliage which is grown proportionate to the height of its trunk and adorned all over with flowers alone. It has three main branches instead of five, and it would have five main branches, had it been the Bo-tree of Śākyamuni. The Pāṭali, moreover, is the only Bo-tree which may appear to be in flower without bearing fruits. Applying this last point as a criterion, it may be safely assumed that the tree is no other than the Bo-tree of Budddha Vipaśchit [Fig. 13].

In another representation, the tree figures as a Bo with three uniform offshoots from the very root, and its foliage and generl appearance seem to bear resemblance to Udumbara, the Bo-tree of Buddha Koṇāgamana [Fig. 13a].

There survives yet another representation, [Fig. 13b.] in which the figure of the tree is worn out beyond recognition, while the remaining representations of Bo-tree are all now missing.

18. REPRESENTATIONS OF STORIES OF THE PRESENT

Buddha's Birth-stories are either the stories of his present or last existence or the stories of his past or previous existence. Accordingly the Jātaka-scenes depicted in Buddhist sculptures may be broadly distinguished (1) as those illustrating the stories of the present, and (2) as those illustrating the stories of the past. So far as the Bodh-Gayā Stone-railing goes, there survive only four bas-reliefs that illustrate the stories of the present, which are as follows :—

1. the story of purchase of Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika for dedication to Buddhist order ;
2. that of the heavenly harper Pañchaśikha deputed by Śakra to the Indraśāla Cave to make an appointment with Buddha ;
3. that of the Dragon-chief Elāpatra paying homage to Buddha ; and
4. that of Buddhia and a ploughman.

1. PURCHASE OF JETAVANA

This scene is carved in the upper panel of a rail-post. The Barhut sculpture presents all the stages of the Buddhist story of Jetavana from the taking of possession of the site by Anāthapiṇḍika to the erection and formal dedication of the monastic abode to Buddha, while the Bodh-Gayā sculpture represents only that point of the story where the site had to be covered with a layer of crores in fulfilment of the terms of sale and purchase.

The banker seems to be absent from the scene and his employees only are shown busy spreading out the bed of coins [Fig. 54].

2. PAÑCHAŚIKHA WAITED ON BUDDHA

In the background of this scene was the famous Barhut carving illustrating the dramatic narrative of the Sakkapañha-Sutta (Dīgha-Nikāya, Vol. II). The Bodh-Gayā carving is intended only to offer a plastic representation of that point in the narrative where in being deputed by Śakra to make an appointment with Buddha who was then staying in the Indraśāla Cave of the Vediyaka mountain, the heavenly ministrel Pañchaśikha remained lost in the music of the song which he began to sing conveying a double meaning, one of which was applicable to the Great Master whom he was to wait upon [Fig. 55].

3 ELĀPATRA PAID HOMAGE

In this scene Cunningham notices a *deva* flying over the battlements of a city, with a garland in his outstretched hand, towards a Bodhi-tree before which a man is kneeling in adoration. In the same bas-relief Dr. R. L. Mitra sees a Bodhi-tree on a high pedestal, to which a devotee is paying his devotion, while an aerial spirit in the form of a human being with a peacock's tail is approaching from a hill to offer a flower garland to the tree, the flying figure being nothing but a conventional form of Garuḍa. We have little to add to these observations which, taken together, exhaust the details of the scene. The tree shown with the vacant seat at its foot is not technically the Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni with whose life the scene is connected. It is some other tree, the spot of which became a definite scene of action. If it is a śirīsha (acacia), the scene is no other than that of homage paid by the Nāga-king Elāpatra to Buddha and the tree itself is no other than the lordly acacia on the bank of a river [Fig. 56]; and if it is a *nyagrodha* (banyan), the scene is no other than that of supplication of Brahmā to Buddha for proclamation of the new truth to the world at large and the tree is no other than the Neat-herd's Banyan (Ajapāla-nyagrodha) at the foot of which the action took place.

4. BUDDHA AND A PLOUGHMAN

Here is a ploughing scene presenting the field in its natural surroundings. The ploughman is engaged in ploughing with the goad held up in his right hand. In front of the bullocks yoked to the plough is to be seen a vacant seat with two bushes of corn and a watery area near by. The vacant seat may be safely taken to indicate the presence of the Master [Fig. 57].

This is not only a village ploughing scene but a representation of a definite story of Buddha and a ploughman. There are several stories of Buddha and the ploughman, and the one which suits the Bodh-Gayā *motif* is a story contained in the Suttanipāta-Commentary (pp. 511-512).

If, as it seems, the two bushes suggest that the field which the ploughman was ploughing was a wheat-field (*yava-khetta*) and the sheet of water with the appearance of a lotus-pool suggests that the wheat-field was a field on the bank of a river, the scene may be safely interpreted in the light of the story relating how Buddha had prepared the ground for conversion of a Brahmin cultivator of Sāvatthi by paying a timely visit to the latter when he was engaged in ploughing his wheat-field on the bank of the Achiravatī in the vicinity of Jetavana.

19. REPRESENTATIONS OF STORIES OF THE PAST

Along with the representations of stories of the present there still linger some scenes relating to stories of the past. All but one of them are found carved on the earlier components of the present Bodh-Gayā Railing. The only Jātaka scene which adorns the upper panel of a later granite pillar relates to the Birth-story called Kumbha-Jātaka. This and all the earlier representations are being described below, and the order which may be conveniently followed is no other than that afforded by the serial numbering of the corresponding Birth-stories in Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka-Commentary.

(1) A GOOD MAN UNDER THE CONTROL OF A WOMAN

Three stages of one and the same Birth-story are depicted in three inter-connected scenes filling three middle panels of a gate-pillar. Each scene is presented on a particular face or side. In the first scene we see a gourd-bowl placed between a standing pair of lovers; in the second, a long-necked water-jug in the same position instead of the gourd-bowl; and in the third, the water-jug appears behind the woman. The common feature of the three scenes is that in each of them the actors are a man and a woman who stand side by side in each other's arms, the man on the right and the woman on the left [Fig. 58].

The details may be explained by the Udañchani-Jātaka (F- No. 106), and, in some respects, by the Mudulakkhaṇa (F. No. 66).

The first scene represents how the hermit of the Birth-story was tempted by the woman and he came under her control. The second scene suggests the sort of work he was asked to do, and the third scene suggests how he carried out her orders or did her bidding.

"She sent him to fetch water and do a thousand other things. He filled up the water-pot and kept it ready for her use and prepared the bed like a menial".

(2) THE GOOD MAN CONVEYED SAFE TO HIS HOME

In this relief Cunningham notices a boat scene in which the boat holds three men, of whom one is apparently engaged in poleing through a mass of lotus plants[1]. Dr. R. L. Mitra sees in it three persons, one standing near the helm, the second propelling the boat with a pole, and the third prostrating himself before something sacred at the prow[2].

It depicts indeed a scene of the course of an open canoe-shaped country-boat through a sheet of water overgrown with lotus-plants. The shallowness of water is indicated by the growth of lotus-plants, and no less by the fact that the boat is being propelled with a pole. The boat holds three men. The man at the prow remains prostrate with joined hands in an attitude of adoration. The man in the middle stands poleing the boat, while the third man near the helm stands gazing ahead, with his right hand elbowed towards his breast and his left hand holding up some flowers, his face bearing the expression of certain emotion. The action of the first man signifies that he is saying his prayer to some deity. The action of the second man suggests that he is some one who came to steer the course of the boat, while the action of the third man suggests a feeling of wonder at an unexpected happy event which has happened in his experience [Fig. 59].

These details of the scene may be clearly accounted for by the story of the Sīlānisaṃsa-Jātaka (F. No. 190) which has for its moral :

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 19.
[2] Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, pp. 154-155.

"Behold the fruit of sacrifice, virtue and piety :
A Serpent in ship-shape conveys the good man o'er the sea.
Make friendship only with the good and keep good company ;
Friends with the good, this barber could his home
in safety see."

The bas-relief depicts just the closing part of the voyage along the Ganges when the good man was about to reach back his home at Benares.

(3) THE VILLAIN FOUND OUT AT LAST

In this relief a man is seen seated with a pointed bamboo-pole-like rod in his hands in front of a mighty elephant that grimly remains standing with its trunk turned towards its mouth- The bamboo-pole-like weapon is held slantingly, while the attitude of the elephant shows that it has restrained its motion. The man armed with the weapon sits down perplexed at the sudden approach of the elephant[1] [Fig. 60].

It is easy to understand that the scene depicts the striking episode of the Kāsāva-Jātaka (F. No 221) which narrates how an elephant-killer in the garb of an ascetic was found out when he lay in wait and was chastised by the Bodhisat, then born as the leader of a herd of elephants.

(4) A PLOUGHMAN'S PRAYER TO A KING

In this relief a king is seated on his throne under an umbrella with an attendant who remains standing behind him with the usual *chauri*[2]. The pose of the left palm of the king suggests the attitude of a person engaged in conversation. The man who stands before him is a husbandman with a plough carried on his shoulder with the yoke turned upwards on the rod. The depicted scene [Fig. 61] appears to be a suggestive representation of the story of the Somadatta-Jātaka (F. No. 211) narrating how a husbandman gave when he meant to crave, in spite of a careful rehearsal given beforehand by his wise son, then a favourite attendant of the king of Benares :

"I had two oxen, to my plough,
with which my work was done,
But one is dead ! O mighty prince,
please *take tke other one* !"

---

[1] Cunningham reads the scene as depicting an elephant tethered by a *mahut*:

[2] Cunningham takes the attendant to be a female. See his *Maāhabodhi*, p. 14.

He had meant to say : *give me another one..*

(5) SPRITE FAVOURED WIFE SLIGHTED

This is a dramatic scene in which a woman is seen standing playfully on the left side of a man who figures in the middle. She with her arms flung over his left shoulder, hangs about him, while the man tries to drive off a second woman on his right side. The second woman remains still standing, and her attitude shows that she is reluctant to go away. It is clear from the action of the man that he is indulgent in his dealings with the first woman and negligent in his dealings with the second [Fig. 62].

It is apparent that the scene of action is based upon a Birth-story such as the Asitābhu-Jātaka (F. No. 234) relating how a prince lost his loving wife owing to his fondness for a woodland sprite.

(6) A FRUIT-SELLER SHE CAME IN

This is another dramatic scene in which a king is seen seated on throne fanned with a *chauri* by a female attendant. The king is engaged in a serious conversation, with his left hand upraised, with a woman who stands on his left, holding up a plate containing some eatables. Another woman remains standing to the left of the second woman carrying a basket between her hands. The contents of the plate seem to be some fruits carried in the basket. [Fig. 63].

The scene of action is evidently based upon a story like that of the Sujāta-Jātaka (F. No. 306) relating how a fruiterer's daughter having been raised to the position of a queen, pretended not to recognize the very fruits jujubes she used to sell. She was no more than a fruit-seller out on her hawking errand when her charm first attracted the king.

(7) THE QUEEN GREETED THE ROYAL MINISTREL

This scene is no less dramatic than those already noticed. In it we see a man and a woman figuring side by side in each other's arm, the man appearing as a ministrel with a harp in his left hand and the woman as a high female personality. She keeps her right hand upraised, which is the familiar attitude of a person engaged in conversation. [Fig. 64]. Their action may be easily explained by such a Birth-story as the Sussondi Jātaka (F.No.360) relating how a ministrel employed by a king found his way at last into a sea-girt place where the queen was lodged by the Garuḍa prince who carried her off and how she recognized and greeted him in her usual charming ways.

(8) NO FAVOUR FROM A COURTEZAN

This scene fills the upper panel of a rail post. In it Dr. R. L. Mitra sees a woman seated on a bedstead, by the side of which is a *morha*, or stool, holding her betel-boxes. Beside her is a stranger seated, making a request with folded hands. The woman is dissatisfied with him, so with her right hand uplifted, she desires him to go away and to avoid him she falls back, and with her left hand leans on a maid who is standing beside her[1]. A water-jug and a footstool are to be noted among the utensils on the floor. [Fig. 65].

The scene of action may be satisfactorily explained in the light of the Aṭṭhāna-Jātaka (F. No. 425) narrating how a courtezan, daily visited by a banker offering her a fee of one thousand pieces per night, flatly declined to entertain him as he happened to come without her fee one evening in spite of his repeated entreaties and even went so far as to order her maid to turn him out.

(9) A HORSE-FACED YAKSHINI SEIZED A GOOD MAN AND LOVED HIM

Here is a rare instance in which the narrative of one and the same Birth-story is distributed into three distinct scenes, the first two of which fill two upper panels of two rail-posts and the third one is presented in a quandrangular panel of a corner-pillar.

In the first relief is to be seen a horse-faced woman, evidently an *assamukhi Yakkhiṇi* seizing by her right hand the left hand of a good-looking man from the side of a rock where she lay in wait. [Fig. 66a].

In the second relief, the same horse-faced woman appears on a small pavilion where she is engaged in playing a square-board game with the man who is now under her control. [Fig. 66b].

And in the third relief one may see her again standing characteristically with her left foot placed across her right, while her hands remain joined and raised above her head. Her face is turned towards the man who stands by her side near a thicket placing his left hand on her right arm and wistfully gazing at a playful boy who figures before her. [Fig. 66c].

(10) THE WICKED MAN TREMBLED IN FEAR OF TIGER

In this relief is to be seen a hermit seated in front of a hermit's abode with his body and left knee put within a noose of string. The abode is nothing but a four-roofed straw-thatched indian hut or cottage provided with an arched door in front and two windows on its sides. It stands on the bank of a lotus lake or tank. A gourd almsbowl is to be seen on the ground to the left of the hermit who is frightened at the sight of a mighty tiger that has emerged from the woodland and stands before him as if demanding something from him [Fig. 67].

---

[1] Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, p. 156.

The scene of action may be well explained by the Tittira-Jātaka (F. No. 438) relating how the tiger in charge of the hermitage, in which the partridge teacher lived teaching the Vedas, took the wicked man to task for killing the honoured bird for a dish after gaining admission to the hermitage by the virtue of the ascetic garb in which he appeared.

(11) THE QUADRUPED TEACHER ON A ROCKY PULPIT

Here is a scene in which a fine-looking quadruped resembling a Himalayan goat in its general appearance stands gently on a rocky seat facing a boy who stands just in front of the seat and a woman who stands at some distance watching the situation with a keen interest. The attitude of the hands of both indicates that they are attentively listening to the words of the noble animal [Fig. 68].

The scene of action may be rendered explicable in the light of the Rohantamiga-Jātaka (F. No. 501) narrating how a pious queen persuaded her husband, who was then the king of Benares, to employ the young son of a hunter-chief to find out the mountain home of a quadruped teacher who appeared to the queen in her dream and the hunter-lad fulfilled the mission by receiving a message from the noble being to convey it to her.

(12) THE JOYFUL NIGHT OF HEAVEN FOLLOWED BY THE PAINFUL DAY OF HELL

This is the relief in which Cunningham notices two females, one of whom is playing a Pandean pipe, while the other is holding up her right hand, as if marking time, and a third figure appears in front, of whom only the head now remains[1] [Fig. 69].

The woman playing the Pandean pipe is seen majestically seated on a throne or couch beside a tree to the left, which resembles a young palm-tree in its general appearance. The second woman is dancing on the spot in tune with the pipe, while the third woman remains kneeling on the ground and reclining to rest her face, as if in a playful manner, on the lap of the first woman in her superior glory.

---

[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi. P.* 14.

The details of the scene thus made out may be rendered intelligible by the Kiṃchhanda-Jātaka (F. No. 511) narrating the story of a Brahmin minister whose lot after death was to enjoy the happy state of a lovely goddess in a celestial mansion during the night, having a large retinue of heavenly maidens to wait on her, pleasing her with their music, dancing, acting, smiles and pranks, and to undergo the burning pain of the life of a sinner during the day, assuming a form as big as a palm-tree.

(13) ŚAKRA'S SERMON ON THE EVIL OF DRINKING

In this relief which is contained in the upper panel of a granite or later rail-post is to be seen in the upper part a covered vessel held up in the air by two birds with their beaks from two sides. In the lower part appear four persons, one of whom is a man of consequence. A bare-headed man who looks like a Brahmin is deeply engaged in conversation with the man of importance in the centre. Of the remaining two persons, one remains seated to the left of the Brahmin in a crawling posture, and the other sits behind the man of importance with folded hands, held over his knees [Fig. 70].

The details of the scene thus made out are explicable in the light of the Kumbha-Jātaka (F. No. 512) narrating how Śakra, king of the gods, appeared on earth in the guise of a Brahmin with a jar of liquor in his hands, and preached an effective sermon to a king dwelling on the evil effects of drinking, from a position in the air.

The vessel shown in the jar of liquor brought down by Śakra, and the two birds holding it up with their beaks are to indicate that the vessel was held up in the air, while the king of the gods discoursed to the king of the earth in the guise of a Brahmin.

(14) THE STRUGGLE OF A WOMAN IN THE GRIP OF A DEMON

This is the most typical of dramatic representations in one of the quadrangular panels of a corner-pillar. Like other similar panels, this particular panel has two pilasters on its two sides, each with an octagonal shaft and a festoon ornament below the capital, while the capital itself is surmounted by an animal figure and distinguishd from that of an Aśokan monolith by a bracket over it. The panel is bounded, above and below, by two ornamented entemblatures, the upper part being decorated with three intertwined garlands which are suspended from the lower edge of the

---

1 As Dr. Stella Kramrisch informs us, the credit of first identifying the scene with the *Kumbha-Jātaka* is due to Dr. Coomaraswmy.

entemblature above them. Just below the garlands is to be seen a screen let down from a bamboo-pole fixed horizontally between the two columns, the crowning animal figures of which remain facing each other. The screen hangs down just to reach the floor and shows three folds forming three small openings, through the middle one of which peeps out a human figure that remains poised in the air, watching what is happening below [Fig. 71].

On the foreground and just in front of the screen is to be noticed a man standing at ease on the right, conscious of his own strength, and forcibly catching hold of a woman who is struggling to escape from his clutches. He keeps her turned towards him by a hold on her left palm with his left and holds her by his grim-fisted hand having in its grip her cloth entwined on her back. The desperateness of her struggle is remarkably brought out by her characteristic posture. The woman shows, even in her utter helplessness, the natural instinct of a woman for covering her nakedness, especially, as here, by pulling up one end of her cloth, although the cloth itself is already entwined into a string in the course of her struggle and coiled round her person only to afford to the wicked man an easy grip over her.

It is easy to make out that the scene of action is based upon a Birth-story such as the Sambula-Jātaka (F. No. 519) narrating how the princess Sambulā, in returning in the evening to the top of the hill where her husband lay ill and was nursed by her, came into the grip of a lustful demon who obstructed her way, made a hard struggle in vain for escape and Śakra ultimately saved her honour by his timely advent and intervention.

(15) THE INNOCENT ASCETIC TEMPTED BY A TEMPTRESS

Here are two quadrangular panels with dramatic representations in them, one placed above the other on the same face of a corner-pillar. Their inter-connexion may be easily guessed from the interplay of the same two dramatis personæ.

In the lower panel, a man and a woman stand side by side, the man on the right with folded hands beside the water-jug of a hermit and the woman on the left hiding her mouth with her left palm and keeping her right hand across her body.

In the upper panel, the man and the woman reappear and stand side by side, the man on the right and the woman on the left, in the clasp of each other, here the woman holding prominently a harp on her right side [Fig. 72].

The two scenes of action, one depicting the respectul greeting of the temptress by the young hermit and the other the sequel of it, may be explained by the Alambusā-Jātaka (F. No. 523) narrating how Alambushā, the heavenly maiden and temptress, was employed by Śakra to tempt the young ascetic Rishyaśṛiṅga and how she practised her pleasing tricks on his innocent nature, ultimately to go back disappointed.

(16) THE FALL OF A SĀLA-LEAF—A FACTOR IN THE LIFE OF A SAINT

This is the relief in which a man in the dress of a worldly man is seen seated cross-legged on a square seat under a *sal* tree with his right hand stretched towards a cave-like dwelling. The edges of the terrace are set off with the device of a Buddhist railing which is high enough to require two slabs of stone to step over it. A hermit's water-jug is to be seen near the slabs of stone [Fig. 73].

Three are the important points to be noted in atempting to identify the scene of action with a Birth-story : (1) a square seat under a *sal*-tree ; (2) the figure of a religious man represented as seated cross-legged on the seat in the garb of a worldly man ; and (3) a cave-dwelling to which attention of the man is directed.

These details are explicable in the light of the Sonaka-Jātaka (F. No. 529) narrating how the fall of a withered leaf from a *sal*-tree, under which Sonaka, the son of a royal chaplain remained seated on a rocky seat, caused him to deeply reflect on the impermanence of things and enabled himt o attain to the state of a *pratyeka-buddha* on that very seat,—a wholly transformed man whose fit dwelling-place was the Nandamūla-cave.

(17) THE FOUR GRACES AS RIVAL CLAIMANTS FOR AMBROSIA

ĀŚĀ (Hope), Śraddhā (Faith), Śrī (Beauty) and Hrī (Modesty) are the four Indian Graces who are said to have been the four accomplished daughters of Śakra, king of the gods. The Sudhābhojana-Jātaka (F. No. 535) narrates a charming story in which these four Graces contested for ambrosia, each stating her claims to the sage who was entrusted with the duty of awarding it to the Grace who excelled the rest according to his sober judgment. The contest began when, on coming to a beautiful lake near the Ganges, they caught sight of a cup of ambrosia in the hands of an ascetic who lived in a hermitage close by, and it ended when the prize was awarded by the noble judge to Modesty [Fig. 74].

All the three stages of the Birth-story are skilfully represented in one and the same quadrangular panel of a corner-pillar. In the upper part is shown the lotus-lake with four maidens, one on one side and three on the opposite side, the scene being that of the four Graces coming to the lake for bathing.

In the second grouping in the middle part are shown the four maidens on the left side of the lake claiming with folded hands something from the hand of a man who stands at some distance facing them, the scene being that of the four Graces contesting for the prize of ambrosia.

And in the third grouping in the lower part are exhibited just two figures, a man and a maiden facing each other, the man handing something on to the maiden. Here the scene is no other than that of the sage awarding the prize to the Grace whose claims were superior to those of the rest.

(18) A HERMIT ON A HILL-TOP

This relief offers a riddle which is not easy to solve. A hermit figures on the top of a hill and remains seated on a *morhā*, confronting two trees that stand as sylvan twins. In a similar but earlier Barhut represntation the trees are labelled with an inscription describing them as *Jambū* (Rose-apple trees). The hermit leans forward to receive hospitality from two human hands that mysteriously stretch forth from the twin trees, the right hand holding a water-jug to wash the hand of the hermit with water poured down through its spout and the left hand holding out a plate of eatables. Here we sadly miss the figure of the woman represented in the Barhut relief as stepping down the hill with a basket and a hatchet, evidently for the gathering of roots and fruits [Fig. 75].

The scene of action may be explained, though not satisfactorily, by the story of the Vessantara-Jātaka (F. No. 547) narrating how Prince Viśvantara was served during his exile by his wife and how on her late return to the hermitage on the top of Mt. Nārada during a moon-lit night she bewailed on account of her children whose presence she missed from the shade of the rose-apple trees that remained, and after having been requieted by her lord, she gracefully served him with the edibles she was able to collect. But it may be that the scene is based upon some other Birth-story in which the rose-apple trees themselves or some benevolent spirits residing in them entertained the great man, not allowing him to suffer owing to the delay in the return of his wife with eatables for him.

20. MISCELLANEOUS REPRESENTATIONS

Under this head we are to consider (1) the representation of the story of Parantapa's son and magical harp, (2) that of auspicious sights and (3) that of later ornamental designs.

(1) PARANTAPA'S SON AND MAGICAL HARP

In this relief is to be seen a mighty elephant approaching by long strides a man who stands on his toes facing the elephant and holding out a harp [Fig. 76]. The outline of the human figure is clear enough to suggest that the posture of the man with the harp on his right side is similar to that of Śakra's harper in the scene of the Indraśāla-cave. Here the scene of action is laid in a place enclosed by a railing, and the action itself represents the most striking feature of the story of Parantapa's son and the magical harp as narrated in the Udenavatthu (Dhammapada-Commentary).

The queen of King Parantapa of Kauśāmbī was carried off by a monster bird and left at the abode of a hermit who was in possession of a magical harp by which he could enchant the elephants (*hatthikanta*-*vīṇā*). The queen who was then with child gave birth to a prince, and the hermit took care of both the prince and his mother. When grown up, the prince received the magical harp as a favour from the hermit. The mystery of the harp was such that when the words of a charm were repeated by striking its select chord, the leader of the herd of elephants near by was bound to come on and serve as vehicle. On coming to know that King Parantapa had died, the prince stepped forward with the harp and struck that particular chord of it by which he might compel the lord of the herd of elephants in the nearest forest to appear before him and carry him on his back to the place where he would like to go.

(2) AUSPICIOUS SIGHTS

Two kinds of auspicious sights are met with on the Present Railing. The first kind is represented by the figures of Kīrttimukhas, only one or two of which occur on the sandstone and the rest on the granite pillars. The second kind is represented by the figure of a cow with a milking calf which is carved in the upper panel of a granite pillar.

(3) LATER ORNAMENTAL DESIGNS

The later ornamental designs on the granite pillars comprise (a) the female busts in the middle row of lotus-medallions , (b) the figures of bulls, *makaras* and the like in the upper panels, and (c) those of amorous couples on some of the gate-pillars. One female bust occurs indeed on a sandstone pillar where it stands for a symbolical representation of the Sign of the Zodiac called Kanyā or *Virgo*. That which occurred on the sandstone pillar as an exception became in later times the rule, losing all its meaning. Similarly the bull and the *makara* figured on sandstone pillars only as representations of two Signs of the Zodiac.

21. CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION

The Bodh-Gayā sculptures unmistakably presuppose those on the Barhut Railing and its Returns and Gateways as well as the monoliths of Aśoka with their reliefs and crowning animal figures. The plastic art of the Indus Valley as represented by the figures found at the two buried Cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro is, no doubt, the first landmark of Indian art and architecture hitherto known. So far as the two Bodh-Gayā statues of Buddha-Bodhisattva, installed during the reign of King Trikamala go, they may be taken to represent just the second stage of development from the figures set up at Mathurā during the early Kushāṇa rule.

The Bodh-Gayā sculptures are earlier only by a few years than the earliest among the sculptures in the caves of the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills of Orissa, and earlier by at least half-a-century or so than the carvings on the Sanchi Gateways.

The legacy of Aśokan art and architecture to old Bodh-Gayā shrines was indirect rather than direct. In almost every single instance it may be shown to have come down through the channel of Barhut plastic art. In one of the Bodh-Gayā medallions the lion-capital of Aśoka's Sarnath pillar figures, with the Wheel over it as the structural symbol of the place where Buddha had turned the wheel of the Law. But in the panel where the entire pillar is reproduced, we find that it has an octagonal shaft. On the other hand, in the main example of Barhut sculpture, namely, the scene of Enlightenment of Buddha Śākyamuni, the monolith of Aśoka is faithfully represented with its crowning animal figure—elephant. The same remark holds true of the minor example where we have a representation of an imitation sanctuary of the Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni. In the third example, however, where we meet with a scene of suggestion of the wheel-imagery by the gods; the shaft of the pillar is octagonal or typically Barhut and the capital bears the figure of two antelopes.

Secondly, in the majority of the quadrangular panels where a dramatic representation of a scene of action is attempted, we invariably notice that they are flanked by two pilasters bearing the traditional capital and crowning animal figures of Aśokan monoliths, while their distinctive features, namely, the octagonal shaft and the bracket go at once to connect them with the pillar forms reached in the latest phase of Barhut sculpture. These panels of Bodh-Gayā must nevertheless be considered a further step of development from similar panels met with on the corner-pillars of Barhut returns. The decorative earlier features and scenic effect that characterise Bodh-Gayā panels are sadly missed in those of Barhut, and, moreover, none of the Barhut quadrangular panels is flanked by the imitation Aśokan pillars.

Thirdly. on the outer edges of the upper covering slab of the old Diamond-throne we come across four rows of acanthus alternated in one row with geese or swans and in another with pigeons, all of which speak eloquently of the influence of Aśokan reliefs, though here too, there is a distinctive feature, namely, that the slab is rough-hewn and not highly polished. In other words, the fashioning of the material is not Aśokan but that of Barhut.

Taking the old Bodh-Gayā shrines with their art and architecture in the lump and comparing them with the Barhut monument with its mound, inner railing, returns, gateways, and art and architecture, it may be safely premised that the latter served as the scriptural authority; in the erection of the Jewel-walk and Jewel-walk shrine and that of the Diamond-throne and Diamond-throne-temple, we notice that the Barhut designs were faithfully carried into effect at Bodh-Gayā. Similar designs with some minor omissions and alterations were adopted also in a few other instances, such as, representations of Bo-trees of the Buddhas, the scene of fulfilment of the terms of purchase of Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika, that of the episode of the Indraśāla cave, that of the hermit receiving hospitality from two mysterious hands, the climbing figure of *Yakshiṅi* on a false-gate pillar, that of a type of Sirimā goddess, the figures of Gaṛgā and those of Gajalakshmī.

Various trends of development may indeed be detected, connecting the Bodh-Gayā sculptures with those of Barhut: (1) one from the railing as a whole; (2) another from the components of the railing—the uprights, the rails, the coping and the gateways; (3) the third from the lotus-ornaments on the uprights, rails and coping; (4) the fourth from the typical Barhut pillars; (5) the fifth from the general ornamental devices; (6) the sixth from the symbolical outlines of Buddha's life as found on the arches of Barhut gateways; (7) the seventh from the quadrangular panels while they were utilised simply as ornaments on the later pillars. A couple of man and woman in love figured on a sandstone gate-pillar as two characters of a distinct Birth-story, while as the figures recur on a granite gate pillar, they stand out just a pair of lovers with a dancing gait losing the meaning of the earlier figures.

Some notable points of Barhut are, no doubt, missed at Bodh-Gayā, namely, the imposing gateways with their ornamental arches, the creeper-work (*latā-karma*) on the coping with its serpentine folds or panels alternately presenting the scenes of effort and those of fruition, the formidable array of guards or wardens of the sanctuary, and the scenes of relic-procession.

The Barhut railing which was originally circular, being an enclosure for a mound with a cylindrical base, became afterwards a Svastika in shape and general appearance with the addition of the angle-shaped returns. The Bodh-Gayā railing is quadrangular, being an enclosure for the Bo-tree with a square Diamond-throne-temple before it. One might say that the Bodh-Gayā is nothing but a combination of the four returns or outer arms of Barhut railing.

The beginning of the history of Barhut monument may be pre-Śuṅga or Maurya, if not stlll earlier. The germ of art which had subsisted as a mere possibility or potentiality in the rough-hewn material of the earlier structure suddenly quickened into life when the First Pillar (*Paṭhamathabha*) was donated by Chāpādevi, the wife of Revatimitra of Vidiśā, and her piety served as a great impetus to public benevolence. That is to say, the real artistic life of Barhut commenced during the imperial Śuṅga rule, and it reached its acme when the East Gateway was added by Dhanabhūti at about the close of the Śuṅga rule.

The old shrines of Bodh-Gayā were in the main notable erections of female piety, the leading part being played by Kuraṅgi, Āryā Kuraṅgi, the elderly wife of Kauśikīputra Indrāgnimitra. The other royal donatrix was Nāgadevī, the wife of King Brahmamitra. The names of their husbands are Brahmanical or Hindu, and it need not astonish us that their husbands did not count among the donors. For the case in hand may have been exactly similar to, if not quite identical with, that of the great monument of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa which was erected entirely on pious donations of a few royal ladies whose husbands and male relatives were performers of horse-sacrifice and worshippers of the Fire-god, followers, in short, of orthodox Brahmanism. In the latter case, too, the male side did not participate in the meritorious acts of female piety.

There is yet no reliable evidence to justify the inclusion of Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra in the list of Śuṅga-Mitra kings. The process of structural and artistic development from the latest phase of Barhut to the old shrine of Bodh-Gayā rather goes to show that they rose into power immediately after the disruption of the Kāṇva rule. There is no getting away from the fact that the kingdom of Magadha in which the shrines had been built was the main seat of their power. It is inconceivable, in the absence of a clear evidence proving the contrary, that the royal ladies would have thought of erecting shrines in places that were not within the domain of their husbands or of some male relations or the paternal side. Had it been the domain of persons other than that of their husbands, the fact would have been expressly mentioned in the inscriptions precisely as was done at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

The last-mentioned point receives an additional support from the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela in which Bṛihaspatimitra, a contemporary and weaker rival of the Jaina king of Kaliṅga, is expressly mentioned as the king of Magadha. Mr. Jayaswal's brief for an earlier date of Khāravela and Bṛihaspatimitra on the ground of identity of the latter with Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty should no longer mislead the court of historical reason. An archaism in a relief of the Mañchapuri cave donated by Khāravel's chief queen led Dr. Stella Kramrisch to treat it as a piece of art linking itself with Maurya. But she authorises us to state that the other relief in the same panel markedly shows a tendency which is peculiar to the art of Bodh-Gayā.

As for the intercommunication between Magadha and Barhut, the reader's attention might be drawn to three Barhut inscriptions recording pious donations of three pilgrims, two ladies of high social position and a gentleman, all from Pāṭaliputra. These go to establish that as early as the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Barhut was considered a place of pilgrimage by the Buddhist people of Magadha.

22. HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

The builders of Bodh-Gayā shrines not only fulfilled the expectations in certain Barhut designs but set up actual models for constructions that followed. The Diamond-throne which they had constructed in front of the ancient Bo-tree was followed, for instance, by three other thrones, one of which now figures before the present Bo. The open-pillared square sanctuary which they had built for the enshrinement of the Diamond-throne was the first miniature temple which suggested, in course of time, the idea of construction of the present Bodh-Gayā temple and other sanctuaries of the kind on the same sacred site. Even the very railing which they had erected was destined to serve as the framework of and to merge its identity in the composition of the Later Railing erected under the auspices of King Pūrṇavarmā. A similar process of structural development followed also with regard to the gateway constructed by them.

As in some instances the Bodh-Gayā sculptors omitted, so in some instances they supplemented the Barhut plastic representations. The astronomical representations are a novel feature of Bodh-Gayā sculpture. There is indeed a figure of Sun-god at Barhut. But the representation is mythical rather than astronomical. The Sun-god figures as a soldier with high-heeled boots and a sword kept suspended in a sheath or scabbard. The form of representation is what is technically known as Udīchyaveśa or North-Western figuration.

At Bodh-Gayā, on the other hand, we have a vivid representation of the Sun in one-wheeled chariot drawn by a team of four horses whose movements are controlled by his charioteer Aruṇa seated at the forepart. The Sun himself figures as a plain circular disc under an umbrella.

Besides this representation of the Sun, there are symbolical figurations of the Signs of the Zodiac side by side with those of Nakshatras. One of the disputed questions of Indology is whether the notion of the Signs of the Zodiac was an indigenous growth or it was borrowed from the Greeks. Though the Bodh-Gayā figures, themselves cannot be relied upon as decisive evidence against the theory of borrowing from the Greeks, as these occur after three centuries of Greek contact, they go to falsify at least the statement that the five Siddhāntas, all recast in their extant form by Varāhamihira, are the earliest known evidence for the Indian knowledge of the Signs. The Bodh-Gayā representations serve to prove that the Indians were familiar with them as early as the 1st century B. C., if not earlier. These also go to show that in one important respect earlier figurations differed from later ones, namely, that in them Kanyā is represented simply as a maiden bust, crowned with diadem. One may contend that in the Greek representation, too, *Virgo* was symbolised by a similar figure. But what about Dhanu which figures as a centaur in Greek as well as later Indian representations? At Bodh-Gayā this Sign figures not as a centaur (horse in the lower half and bowman in the upper) but as an antelope in the lower half and a bowman in the upper, which must be treated as an indigenous contrivance in default of any clear evidence proving the contrary.

Thus the date of Indian knowledge of the Signs of the Zodiac may be pushed back to the 1st century B. C. The presumption in favour of a much earlier date may be entertained on these two grounds : (1) that even with the people of Vedic India a year comprised twelve months *(dvādaśa-māsāh saṃvatsarah)*, while with the ancient Greeks ten months made a year ; and (2) that *Rāśi* and *Nakshatravidyā* occur in the earlier Upanishad list as names of two allied sciences or arts, while in the corresponding Divyāvadāna list we meet with *mrigachakra*, apparently in lieu of *Rāśi*. The Pāli scholiast's explanation of *Migachakka* in the sense of *Vāyasa-vijjā* is wide of the mark. We may think with Cowell that the term *Mrigachakra* stands probably for the science of the Signs of the Zodiac.

23. ARTISTIC CONSIDERATION

The workmen or builders of the Bodh-Gayā shrines with their lapidary constructions, inscriptions, and bas-reliefs were masons, scribes and craftsmen, in short, professional artisans who laboured in groups, each under its headman. They were not necessarily Buddhists by their religious faith. Theirs was the traditional skill which was bound to be involuntary. As may be clearly inferred from some of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions and some of the Vinaya Texts, some expert among the Buddhist monks was generally employed as *navakammika* or superintendent of new building operations connected with Buddhism. This having been the case, the question naturally arises whether and how far the workmen who were no more than contractors and hired labourers could have their own way of doing things. Did the *navakammika* himself make all the plans and designs or did he simply supervise the work of the craftsmen ?

We have no definite information on the point. It seems likely that so far as the general plan and the selection of subjects go, the credit and discredit are due to the *navakammika*, while the craftsmen were mainly responsible for the execution and the headmen for the designs. The *navakammika* of Bodh-Gayā appears to have been a monk or Buddhist thera who had knowledge of astronomy and dramaturgy.

The main tendency of Bodh-Gayā sculpture is to make Indian art free from its earlier bias for narration of stories which is prominent in the bulk of reliefs on the rail-posts and cross-bars of Barhut Railing. There is more spacing in the sense that there is less of narration by stages which necessarily involves different groupings of figures in one and the same panel. But to do justice to Barhut sculptures, comparison must be made with the panels on the coping where the same artistic tendency is manifest, more or less. The difference to be noticed is one of degree rather than of kind. One might say that what was necessitated by the dearth of space at Barhut became the normal procedure of art-delineation at Bodh-Gayā. As Dr. Stella Kramrisch would put it, the movement which was only on the surface at Barhut went to the very depth at Bodh-Gayā.

Similarly comparing the quadrangular panels of the corner-pillars of Bodh-Gayā Railing with those of Barhut Returns, we find that the representation in the former is ostensibly more scenic and the action more dramatic than in the latter. The earlier bias for narration of stories by stages is prominent in the panel depicting the story of the Sudhābhojana-Jātaka.

A separate comparison must be made between the Barhut method of illustrating delicate stories and the Bodh-Gayā method. The Barhut scenes dealing with such subjects are those of the Kaṇḍari, Samugga and Gahapati Jātakas, and the Bodh-Gayā scenes are those of the Birth-stories called Sussondi, Alambusa, Aṭṭhāna, Asitābhū and Sambula. The scene of detection of Kinnari's love-intrigue by king Kaṇḍari is symbolically represented at Barhut by two human figures, one male and the other female, both placed side by side, the male figure standing with a hawk and the female figure with a pigeon in the left hand. There is not a single instance at Barhut where the figures appear in each other's arm. At Bodh-Gayā, on the other hand, the artist, still working within the bounds of restraint imposed by religion, delineated amorous scenes with fondness and greater sense of freedom in the matter. The scenes are, according to their themes and delineations, amorous, while by implication and explained with reference to the main context, their effect is moral. Sensuousness, not to say, sensualism, is in the rendering of and the artist's interest in the bodily forms.

Upon the whole, one may hold that the art of Barhut is more narrative and less dramatic and that of Bodh-Gayā is more dramatic and less narrative, while that of Nāgarjunikoṇḍa is ostentatiously presentative.

24. ARCHITECTURE

The Bodh-Gayā Railing is a simple structure when compared with that of Barhut. None of the gateways of Bodh-Gayā, earlier or later, can favourably compare with those of Barhut. The models of *stūpas* exhibited are all brick mounds with hemispherical domes and cylindrical bases. These, too, are far less imposing than the examples met with in the two Barhut scenes of Buddha's Great Decease. They are on a par with the Barhut models on the E. Gateway. The best example of Bodh-Gayā pillars is afforded by the first pillar of the Jewel-walk-shrine. Even this is less imposing than the pillars of the Barhut E. Gateway, in spite of its greater ornamental skill and finish. The caves, mansions and cottages are far inferior in disign to those of Barhut. The Vaijayanta Palace and the Sudharmā Devasabhā bear a glowing testimony to the superior archiponding Divyāvadāna list we meet with *mrigachakra*, apparently in lieu of *Rāśi.* The Pāli scholiast's explanation of *Migachakka* in the sense of *Vāyasavijjā* is wide of the mark. We may think with Cowell that the term *Mrigachakra* stands probably for the science of the Signs of the Zodiac.

23. ARTISTIC CONSIDERATION

The workmen or builders of the Bodh-Gayā shrines with their lapidary constructions, inscriptions, and bas-reliefs were masons, scribes and craftsmen, in short, professional artisans who laboured in groups, each under its headman. They were not necessarily Buddhists by their religious faith. Theirs was the traditional skill which was bound to be involuntary. As may be clearly inferred from some of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions and some of the Vinaya Texts, some expert among the Buddhist monks was generally employed as *navakammika* or superintendent of new building operations connected with Buddhism. This having been the case, the question naturally arises whether and how far the workmen who were no more than contractors and hired labourers could have their own way of doing things. Did the *navakammika* himself make all the plans and designs or did he simply supervise the work of the craftsmen ?

We have no definite information on the point. It seems likely that so far as the general plan and the selection of subjects go, the credit and discredit are due to the *navakammika*, while the craftsmen were mainly responsible for the execution and the headmen for the designs. The *navakammika* of Bodh-Gayā appears to have been a monk or Buddhist thera who had knowledge of astronomy and dramaturgy.

The main tendency of Bodh-Gayā sculpture is to make Indian art free from its earlier bias for narration of stories which is prominent in the bulk of reliefs on the rail-posts and cross-bars of Barhut Railing. There is more spacing in the sense that there is less of narration by stages which necessarily involves different groupings of figures in one and the same panel. But to do justice to Barhut sculptures, comparison must be made with the panels on the coping where the same artistic tendency is manifest, more or less. The difference to be noticed is one of degree rather than of kind. One might say that what was necessitated by the dearth of space at Barhut became the normal procedure of art-delineation at Bodh-Gayā. As Dr. Stella Kramrisch would put it, the movement which was only on the surface at Barhut went to the very depth at Bodh-Gayā.

Similarly comparing the quadrangular panels of the corner-pillars of Bodh-Gayā Railing with those of Barhut Returns, we find that the representation in the former is ostensibly more scenic and the action more dramatic than in the latter. The earlier bias for narration of stories by stages is prominent in the panel depicting the story of the Sudhābhojana-Jātaka.

A separate comparison must be made between the Barhut method of illustrating delicate stories and the Bodh-Gayā method. The Barhut scenes dealing with such subjects are those of the Kaṇḍari, Samugga and Gahapati Jātakas, and the Bodh-Gayā scenes are those of the Birth-stories called Sussondi, Alambusa, Aṭṭhāna, Asitābhū and Sambula. The scene of detection of Kinnari's love-intrigue by king Kaṇḍari is symbolically represented at Barhut by two human figures, one male and the other female, both placed side by side, the male figure standing with a hawk and the female figure with a pigeon in the left hand. There is not a single instance at Barhut where the figures appear in each other's arm. At Bodh-Gayā, on the other hand, the artist, still working within the bounds of restraint imposed by religion, delineated amorous scenes with fondness and greater sense of freedom in the matter. The scenes are, according to their themes and delineations, amorous, while by implication and explained with reference to the main context, their effect is moral. Sensuousness, not to say, sensualism, is in the rendering of and the artist's interest in the bodily forms.

Upon the whole, one may hold that the art of Barhut is more narrative and less dramatic and that of Bodh-Gayā is more dramatic and less narrative, while that of Nāgarjunikoṇḍa is ostentatiously presentative.

24. ARCHITECTURE

The Bodh-Gayā Railing is a simple structure when compared with that of Barhut. None of the gateways of Bodh-Gayā, earlier or later, can favourably compare with those of Barhut. The models of *stūpas* exhibited are all brick mounds with hemispherical domes and cylindrical bases. These, too, are far less imposing than the examples met with in the two Barhut scenes of Buddha's Great Decease. They are on a par with the Barhut models on the E. Gateway. The best example of Bodh-Gayā pillars is afforded by the first pillar of the Jewel-walk-shrine. Even this is less imposing than the pillars of the Barhut E. Gateway, in spite of its greater ornamental skill and finish. The caves, mansions and cottages are far inferior in disign to those of Barhut. The Vaijayanta Palace and the Sudharmā Devasabhā bear a glowing testimony to the superior architectural designs of Barhut. The Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma, erected under the auspices of King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon, stood, as might be inferred from Hwen Thsang's description and the ground-plan discovered by Cunningham, as a remarkable form of monastic architecture. The style of architecture developed in the Bodh-Gayā temple needs no comment, as it has been elaborately dealt with by competent judges. The votive *stūpas* in the courtyard of the great temple are important as furnishing models for the construction of the temples at Ekāmravana (Bhubaneswar).

25. THE IMAGES OF BUDDHA

An image of Buddha is substantially a statue or statuette representing the personal form as known or conceived. A statue or statuette formally installed as an object of worship or set up as a *yantra* before the eyes of the devotee is strictly called an image. There is a world of difference between a statue as a work of art and a statue as a mere image. To put it in the words of Dr. Stella Kramrisch, "As *yantras* they belong to an 'applied art', where value is not connected with artistic quality ; it lies in the service which they render to the devotee during *pūjā*[1]. According to one Buddhist authority, an image of Buddha (*Buddha-patimā*) stands as an example of shrines that are referential (*uddesika*)[2], and according to another authority, all referential objects of worship are creations of imagination, and as such, they are without a positive basis (*avatthuka manamattaka*)[3].

The two figures of Buddha-Bodhisattva set up in the year 64 of Mahārāja Trikamala are carved, according to Dr. Stella Kramrisch, in buff sandstone from Chunar which is the material of all the Sārnāth sculptures. In them, the attitude is standardised with the right hand with abhayamudrā ; the plastic treatment is of mediocre quality, and is related to the tradition of Mathurā in details such as the heavy ridges for the eyebrows and lesser ridges to demarcate the eyelids. Further, 'while physiognomical type belongs to Mathurā, the face with its stern and coarse cast of features is given a new attitude. It is held with the chin pressed against the throat, and this is not an attitude of extravert case as in images from Mathurā. The modelling of the body is of the Sārnāth school[4].

---

[1] *Indian Sculpture*, p. 94.

[2] *Khuddakapāṭha.Commentary*, section bearing on the *Nidhikaṇḍasutta*.

[3] *Kālingabodhi-Jātaka*.

[4] Indian Sculpture pp. 169-170.

ERRATA & CORRIGENDA[*]

P. 3, l. 32—Read 'Buddha' for 'Boddha'
P. 9, l. 24— „ 'Śākyamuni' for 'Śākymuni"
P. 31, l. 23— „ 'Muchalinda' for 'muchalinda'
P. 40, l. 18— „ 'development' for 'devolpment'
P. 42, l. 20— „ 'felicitously' for 'felicitiously'
P. 45, l. 26— „ 'containing' for 'cotaining'
P. 45, l. 31— „ 'number' for 'nnmber'
P. 47, l. 24— „ 'Cunningham for 'cunningham'
P. 48, l. 26— „ 'by' for 'qy'
P. 48, l. 28— „ 'out' for 'ont'
P. 73, l. 36— „ 'railing' for 'railiug'
P. 74, l. 26— „ 'inscriptions' for 'insciptions'
P. 74, l. 40— „ 'earlier' for 'carlier'
P. 75, l. 16— „ 'solution' for 'solutian"
P. 76, l. 28— „ 'Chinese' for 'Chiuese'
P. 77, l. 16— „ 'great' for 'geat'
P. 79, l. 10— „ 'buff sandstone from Chunar' for 'Mathura sandstone'
P. 112, l. 13— „ 'deeply' for 'decply'
P, 114, l. 15— „ 'square' for sqare'
P. 117, l. 27— „ 'the gods', for 'the gods'
P. 118. l. 3— „ 'Thirdly', for 'Thirdly'
P. 118, l. 13— „ 'in the erection' for 'the erection'
P. 118, l. 22— „ 'Gaṅgā' for 'Gargā'
P. 118, l. 32— „ 'Of corner-pillars of Barhut Returns, and (8) the eighth from the bulk of reliefs' for 'while they were utilised simply as ornaments on the later pillars.'
P. 118, l. 35— „ 'just as' for 'just'
P. 120, l. 4— „ 'dyanasty,' for 'dynasty'
P. 120, l. 13— „ 'Khāravela's' for 'Khāravel's'

N.B. P. 110 — The fig. 66 (a, b. c) illustrates three stages of the Birth-story called Padakusalamānava-Jātaka (F. No. 432) narrating how a horse-faced yakshiṇī seized a Brahmin pedestrian, shut him in her cave-dwelling, got a son by him, and loved both of them only to detect to her bewilderment that they planned a way of escape from her care.

[*] Minor misprints are rectified in as many copies as possible.

INDEX

Subject.	*Pages.*
Abhidhamma-naya,	29
Achiravatī,	106
Adam's Peak,	63
Aden, Sir Ashley,	39
Ajapāla-nyagrodha,	30, 105
Ajātaśatru,	63
Ājīvika recluses,	10
Alambusa-Jātaka,	113
Alaungsithu,	43, 58
Alompra dynasty,	44
Amātyadhuravihāra	70, 76
Amogha,	19, 36, 54, 68, 74
Āmradvīpa	55
Anāthapiṇḍika,	12
Animesha-Chaitya,	24, 25
Anurādhapura,	5, 6
Apollo,	85
Arracan,	43, 45
Asitābhu-Jātaka,	109
Aśoka,	3, 6, 8, 9 foll.
Aśoka's pillar at Sarnath,	11
Aśwka Railing, a misnomer,	12
Aśokavalla,	58
Assamukhi yakkhiṇi,	110
Aśva,	93
Aśvattha, a Bo-tree,	5, 7, 11, 103
Aśvinī,	93
Aṭṭhāna-Jātaka,	110, 120
Ava,	44
Avalokiteśvara,	39, 62
Bakhtiyar Khalji,	4
Barabar Hills,	10, 11
Barhut artists,	8
Barhut carvings,	18
Barua	65-73, 75, 89
Beal,	3, 4 foll.
Beglar,	36, 39
Bhaṭu Dāmodara,	59
Bhaṭu Paima,	59
Bloch,	12, 15, 19 foll.
Bodawpaya,	44, 59
Bo-graft	6
Bo-sprout,	7
Bo-trees of seven Buddhas,	103
Bodh-Gayā Plague,	45, 46
Bodh-Gayā temple,	5, 8 37, 41 foll.
Bodhidruma,	2
Bodhimaṇḍa,	57
Bodhirakshita,	19, 36, 54, 68, 74
Brahmā,	2, 52
Brahmamitra,	67, 75, 119
Brahmin cultivator,	106
Bṛihaspatimitra,	75
Buddha and a ploughman	106
Buddha-Bodhisattva images	70, 76, 79, 124
Buddha Koṇāgamana	9, 103
Buddhaghosha	5
Bnddha-patimā	97, 124
Buddha pokhar	31, 40, 49, 50
Buddha Śākyamuni	3, 9, 18, 20 foll.
Buddha's footprints	62
Buddha's Great Decease	61
Burmese pattern	48
Cave-dwelling	10
Ceylon monastery	42
Chandā Yakhi	95
Chandra (Moon)	87
Chaṭṭopadhi	58
Chatuvāhiyutta ratha	87
Chāyāpatha	93
Chiang Hsia-pias	37, 40
Chi-I	57
Chittagong	45
Chittagong Hill Tracts	45
Chūlakokā Devatā	95
Creeper-work	118
Cunningham	4, 5 foll.
Daṃshṭrasena	55
Delicate stories	123
Devānampriya Tishya	35
Dhammachakka-pavattana	62, 63
Dhammazedi	44, 59
Dhanabhūti	49
Dhanu (Sagittarius)	90

Subject *Pages*
Dharmadāsa 55
Dharmagupta 55
Dharmapāla 57
Dharmasiṃha 44, 60
Dharmayātrā 9
Diamond-throne ... 14, 37, 47, 54 foll.
Divyāvadāna, legend of Aśoka ... 9

Earth-spirit 51
Ekāmravana 124
Elāpatra 105
Fa Hian ... ... 25, 29, 30 foll.
Fausböll ... ... 6, 11 foll.
First Pillar, of Barhut Railing ... 17
Five Siddhāntas 121
Footprint of Vishṇu ... 62, 63, 64
Four chaityas 96
Four symbols 63

Gāgīputa 69
Gajinda 11
Gandhāra 63
Gaṅgā Devatā 83, 95
Gate pillars 15, 16
Gayā-Māhātmya 62
Gayāśira 64
Gayāsura 63
Gopapāla 44, 60

Hamilton, Buchanan 5
Harappa 117
Harsha 4, 41
Harvey 43, 44
Hatthikantavīṇā 116
Hindu goddess of Luek 16
Horse, a crowing animal figure ... 11
Htilo Minlo 43, 58
Hui-wen 58
Huvishka 45
Hwen Thsang ... ... 8, 12, 25 foll.

I-ching 57
I-lin 57
Iṃdāgimitra-pāsāda ... 67, 73
Indian Museum ... 16, 17, 47
Indrāgnimitra ... 17, 36, 69, 119
Indraśālaguhā ... 12, 105
I-tsing 56

Jambudvīpa ... 9, 53
Jātaka Nidāna-kathā 30
Jaṭilas 60
Jetavana 12, 18, 106

Subject *Pages*
Jewel-house ... 29, 78
Jewel-walk 26
Jinadāsa 59, 72, 73, 76

Kaimur range 12
Kakutsandha 103
Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka ... 5 foll.
Kanauj 42
Kaṇishka 76, 79
Kanyā (Virgo) 90
kārā 72
Karkaṭa (Cancer) 90
Kashmir Pandit 58
Kāśyapa, a Buddha 103
Kāthaba, a thera 58
Keśava 57
Khāravela 75
Kharosṭhī inscriptions 46
Kiṃchhanda-Jātaka 112
Kīrttimukhas ... 12, 94, 116
Koṇāgamana 103
Konow, Sten ... 46, 47
Kramrisch, Stella ... 120, 124
Kumbha (Aquarius) 90
Kumbha-Jātaka 112
Kuṅkuma stūpa 51
Kyanzitha 43, 58

Lalitauistara 3
Laṅkā 7
latākarma 118
later oanamental designs 116
Later Railing 80
legacy of Aśokan art 117
Letyaminnen 43, 58
Lion, a crowning animal figure 11
Lower Burma 49
Lüders ... 65, 66 foll.
Lumbinī 11

Magadha 60
Mahābodhi Pagoda 49
Mahābodhi saṅghārāma ... 32, 33, 36, 74, 124
Mahānāma I 35
Mahānāma II 35, 55
Mahāśrirāja 34
Mahāyajña 60
Mahāpadāna story 83
Mahipukha 59
Maitreya 59
Makara (Capricornus) 90
Mañjuśrī 56

Subject. ... *Pages.*
Meghauarmā, Meghavarṇa ... 35, 36, 49, 55. 74
Mermaid 94
Milky way 93
Migāramātupāsāda 73
Mesha (Aries) 90
Mithuna (Gemini) 90
Mitra kings 74
Mitra, Rajendralala ... 39, 64, 66 foll.
Mitra, S. N. 12
Models of Bodh-Gayā temple 45
Mohenjo-daro 117
Mookherjee, Radhakumud 10
Mṛīgaśira 93
Mrohoung 43
Muchalinda, ... 31
Mushala, ... 58

Nāgadevī, ... 17, 19, 54, 67, 73 foll.
Nāgārjunlkoṇḍa, ... 123
Naśrañjanā, Nerañjarā ... 9, 49, 52
Nālandā temple, ... 49
Navakammika, ... 123
Navel of the earth, ... 102
North-Western figuration, ... 121
Nyagrodha, a Bo-tree, ... 103

Ojopati, a tree-spirit. 3
Old stone-railing. ... 12, 14, 18 foll.

Padakusala-mānava-Jātaka, ... 110, 125, fig. 66
Padmaparichakra, ... 90
Pagan, ... 43, 44
Pañchaśikha, ... 105
Pañchaṇṇa-paduma, ... 80
Panday, ... 71, 72
Pandean pipe, ... 111
Parantapa's son and magical harp, ... 116
Pārībhogīka-chetīya, ... 97
Parvata, near Multan, ... 72, 73, 76
Pasenadi of Kosala, ... 103
Pāṭalī, a Bo-tree, ... 103
Pāṭṭaliputra, ... 11, 120
Patna, ... 45
Pegu, ... 44
Penthagu, ... 43
Peshawar, ... 26
Pillar-bases, ... 20
Plastic art of the Indus valley, ... 117
Pūrṇavarmā, king of Magadha, ... 3, 4, 5, 41, 47 foll.
Purushottamadasa. 59
Pole star, ... 94
Prāgbodhi, a hill, ... 8, 51
Prakhyātakīrtti, ... 42, 56, 57, 71, 72
Pratīhāra, ... 68
pravāraṇā, ... 61
Present Railing, ... 82
Puṇḍarīka, a Bo-tree, ... 102
Pūrṇabhadra, ... 57
Pushpabhūti king, ... 42
Pyuthakin, ... 58

raitya-Buddha-pratimā, ... 42, 71
Rājagṛiha, ... 11
Rājasthān, ... 36
Rājāyatana 7, 30
Rājyavardhana, ... 42, 55
Rānivās, ... 36
Rāśī-chakra, ... 90, 121
Rāshṭrakūṭa family, ... 57
Ratnachaṅkrama 25, 27
Ratnagṛiha, ... 29
Raychaudhuri, H. C., ... 75
Reign of a Bo-tree, ... 111
Revatimitra, ... 119
Rohantamiga-Jātaka 111
Roy, Raja Bhuban Mohan, ... 45
sadhātuka-chetiya, ... 97

Sahadevinda, ... 44
Sahaṇasāna, ... 59
Sākamunino Bodho, ... 25
Sakkapañha Sutta, ... 100
Sakra tank, ... 50
Samantapāsādikā 56
Samataṭa, ... 59
Sambula-Jātaka, ... 112
Saṃghadāsa, ... 46
Samudragupta, ... 35, 36
Saṃyuktāgama, ... 35
Śaṅkaradeva, ... 59
Sapādalaksha, ... 58
Sārīrīkachetiya, ... 97
Sārnāth, ... 124
Sasseram, ... 12
Seīnnyet, ... 43
Śikhī, ... 103
Sīlānisaṃsa-Jātaka, ... 107
Siṃha (Leo), ... 90
Sltā-toraṇa, ... 49
Sirimā, ... 19, 54, 67 foll.
Sirimā devatā, ... 95
Śirīsha, a Bo-tree, ... 103

Subject. *Pages.*

Śiśu-Rāghava, ... 59
Śiva 3, 31, 56
Smith, Vincent A. ... 11, 46
Somadutta-Jataka, ... 10
Somapura, ... 59
Sonaka-Jātaka 118
Spooner, ... 45, 46
Śrī 96, 114
Śrī-Dharmarājaguṇa 58
Sri-Dharmarājaguru ... 44, 59
Stone gateway 49
Stone-pillar 9
Stone of Virtue 63
Stories of the past 106
Stories of the present 104
Stūpa of Koṇāgamana 10
Stūpa models 81
Style of Bodh-Gayā temple 44
Sudhābhojana-Jātaka 115
Sudharmā devasabhā 123
Sujāta-Jātaka 114
Sumana 3
Sun-god 85
Sun-temples 89
Śuṅgabhṛitya Kāṇvas 75
Sūrya 84
Sussondi-Jātaka 109
Suttanipāta-Comy. 106

Tāmraparṇi, ... 36
Temple of Bālāīotya at Nālandā, ... 44
Temple of Mahābodhi, ... 46
Temple of Tiladaka, ... 46
Temple of Vāgésvarīdevī, ... 29
Ṭhākuras, ... 59
Ṭhākurāṇis, ... 59
Thibaw, king of Upper Burma, ... 59
Three Buddhist monasteries, ... 8
Tishyarakshitā, ... 3
Tittira-Jātaka, ... 111
Trailokyabrahma, ... 59
Trapusha, ... 30
Trikamala, mahārāja,... ... 41, 55, 70, 76, 124
Trikāya, ... 57
Tulā (Libra), ... 90
Tuṅga, ... 57

Udañchani-Jātaka 107
Udayagiri caves 74
Udayaśarī 57
Uddesika, a shrine, ... 97
Udenavatthu, ... 116
Udīchyaveśa, ... 121
uḍūkhala-pāsāṇa, ... 27
Udumbara, a Bo-tree, ... 103
Upasena I, ... 35
Upasena II, ... 34

Vāchtputa, ... 69
Vāgeśwarī devī, ... 29
Vaijayanta palace, ... 123
Vaishṇava deety, ... 63
Vajrāsanagandhakuṭi, ... 18, 19
Valgu, a tree-spirit, ... 3
Vānarinda-Jātaka, ... 68
Various trends of development, ... 118
Veṇu, a tree-spirit, ... 3
Vessantara Jātaka, ... 115
Vinayadhara's monastery. 55
Vinaya Suttavibhaṅga, ... 68
Vipassi, Vipaśchit, ... 101, 103
Viryendra, ... 59
Viśākhā, ... 74
Vishṇu, ... 3
Vishṇupada, ... 62, 64
Vissāsabhojana-Jātaka, ... 93
Viśvabhṛit, ... 103
Vṛischika (Scorpio), ... 93
Vṛisha (Taurus), ... 90

Western or Yellow river, ... 57

Yaksha figure, ... 14, 16, 17
Yaksha pillar, ... 15, 16, 17, 74, 81, 82
Yakshiṇi figure, ... 14, 16, 17
Yakshiṇi pillar, ... 17, 74, 81, 82
Yellow river (of China), ... 57
Yu-pin, a Chinese pilgrim, ... 58
Yun-shu, a Chinese pilgrim, ... 57

GAYĀ AND BUDDHA-GAYĀ

BOOK V

PLATES

Figs. 21, 23, 26, 57, 69, any 75 are reproduced from Cunningham's "Mahābodhi".

Figs. 10-20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29-32, 34-56, 58-68, 70-74, and 76 are reproduced from the album of Messrs. Johnston Hoffmann.

Fig. 28 (a) is reproduced from the "Indian Culture," Vol. I. No. 2, by courtesy of Dr. B. C. Law.

Fig. 33 (a) is reproduced from the "Indian Historical Quarterly" Vol. IX. No. 2, by courtesy of Kumar Dr. N. N. Law.

Figs. 45-48, Contained is one plate, typify the thirty-four blocks made by Messrs. Indian Photo Engraving Co., Calcutta.

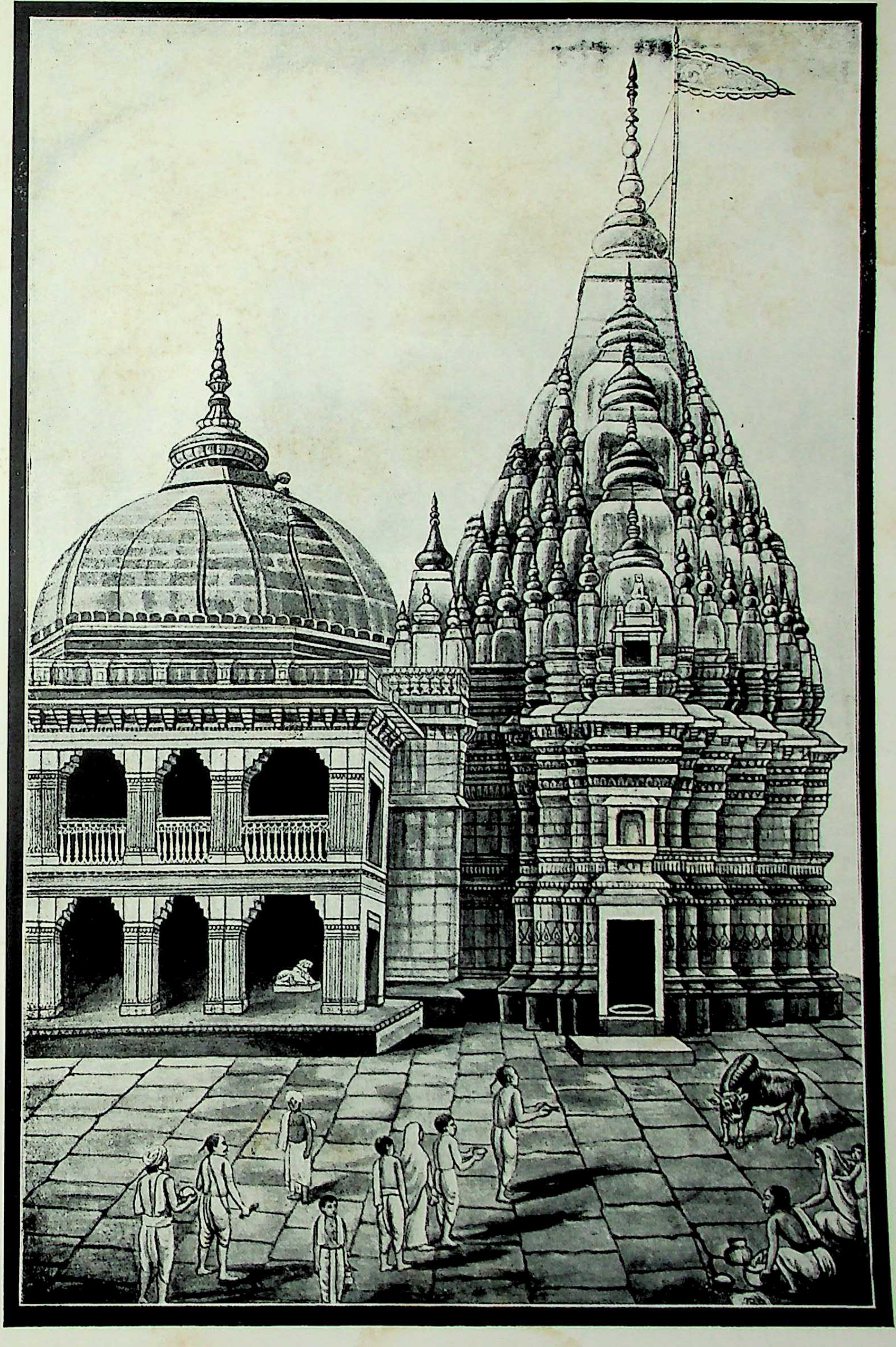


Fig. 1. VISHṆUPADA TEMPLE

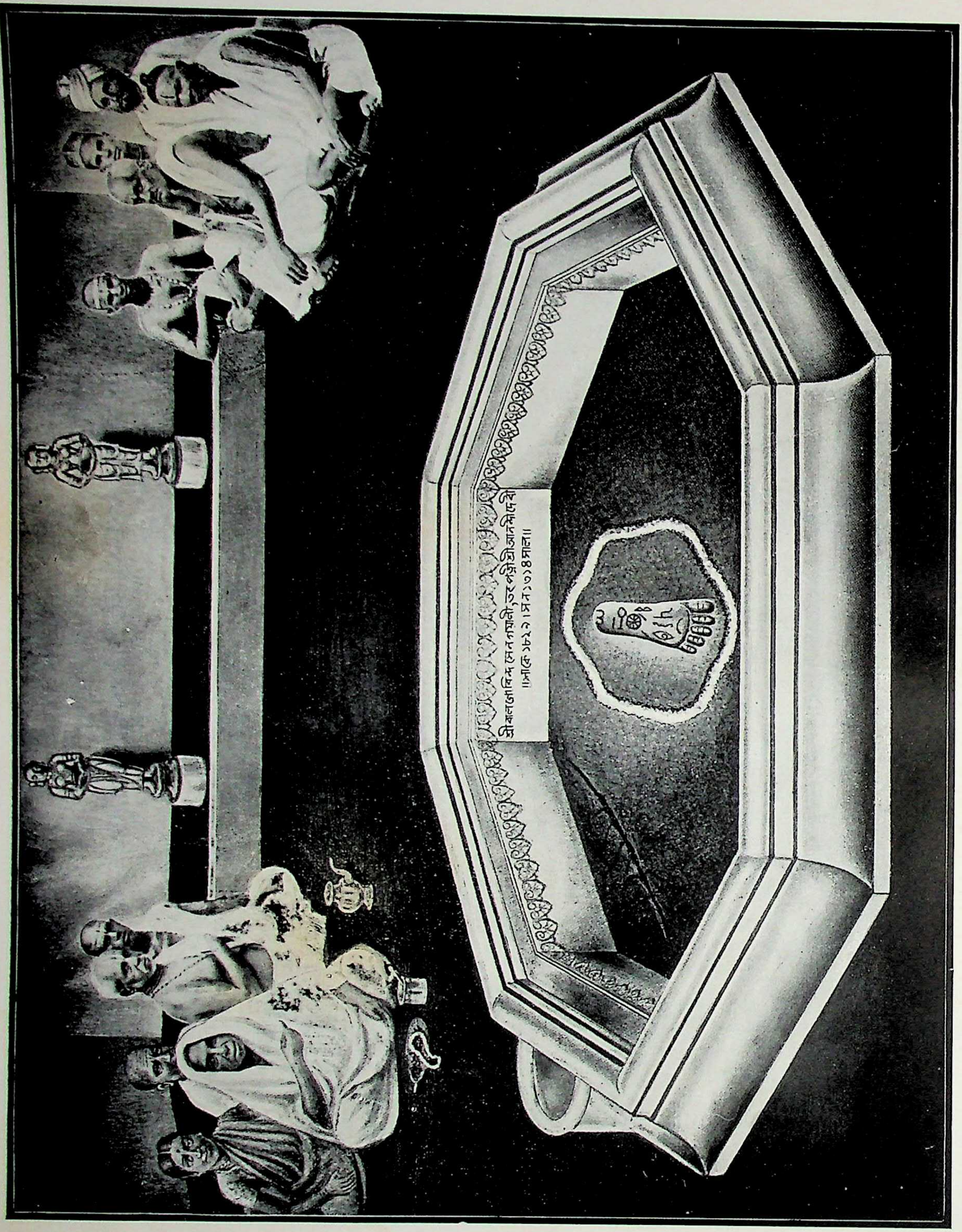

॥শকে ১৮২৩।সন ১৩০৮ সাল॥

Fig. 2. THE FOOTPRINT OF VISHṆU

SACRED RIVER AND HILLS OF GAYĀ

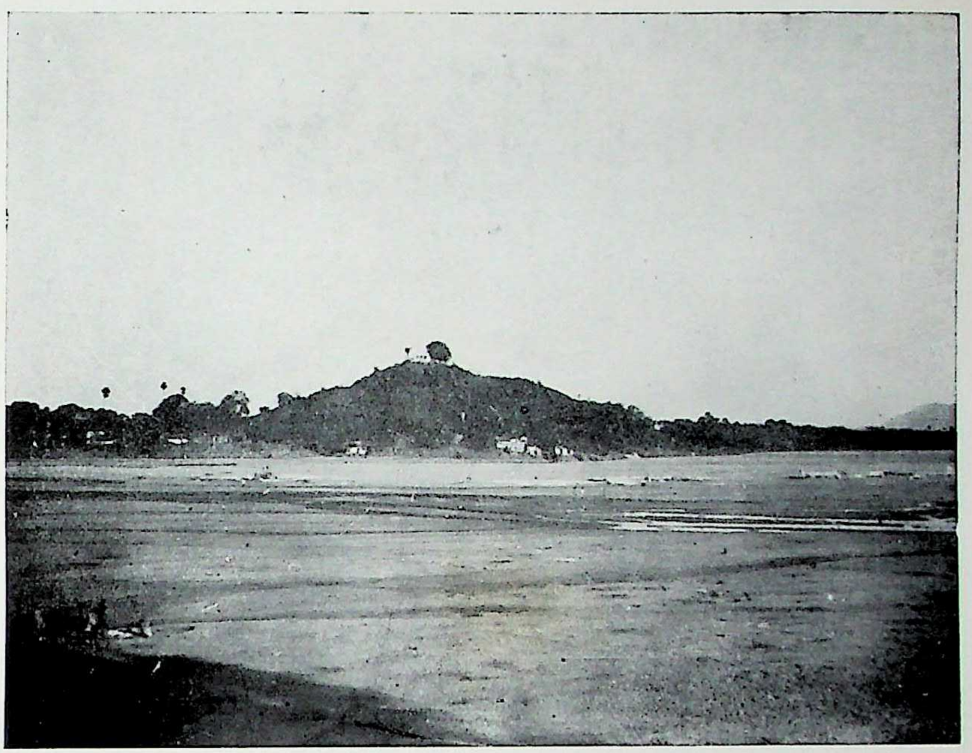


Fig. 3 RĀMA GAYĀ ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PHALGU

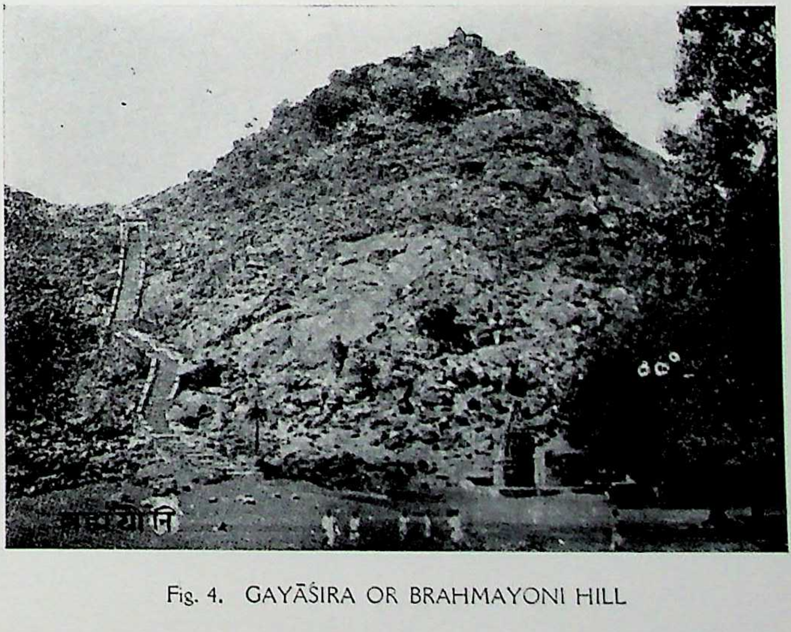


Fig. 4. GAYĀŚIRA OR BRAHMAYONI HILL

SACRED HILLS OF GAYĀ

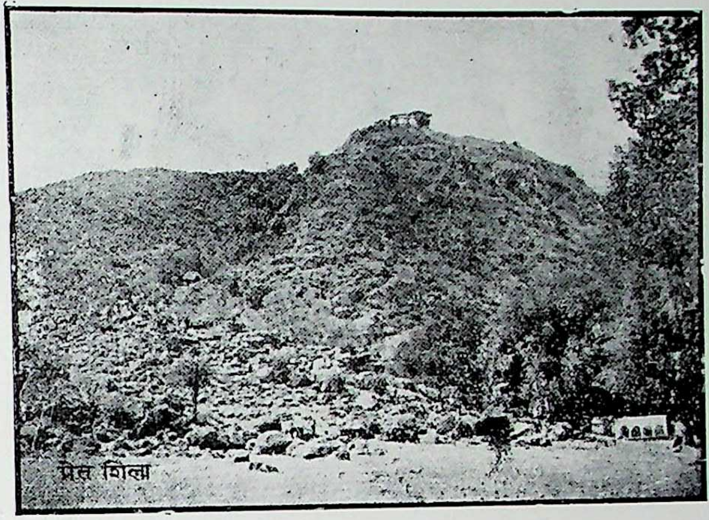


Fig. 5 PRETAŚILĀ

Fig. 6 Not reproduced

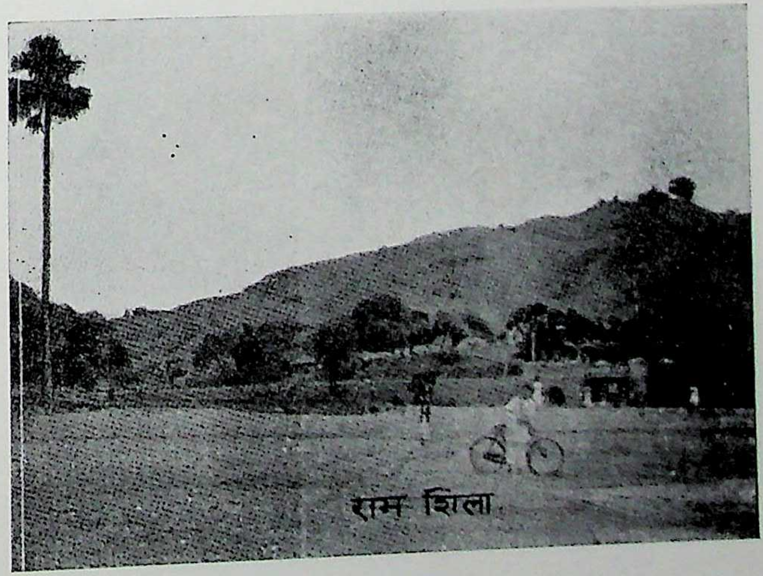


Fig. 7 RĀMAŚILĀ

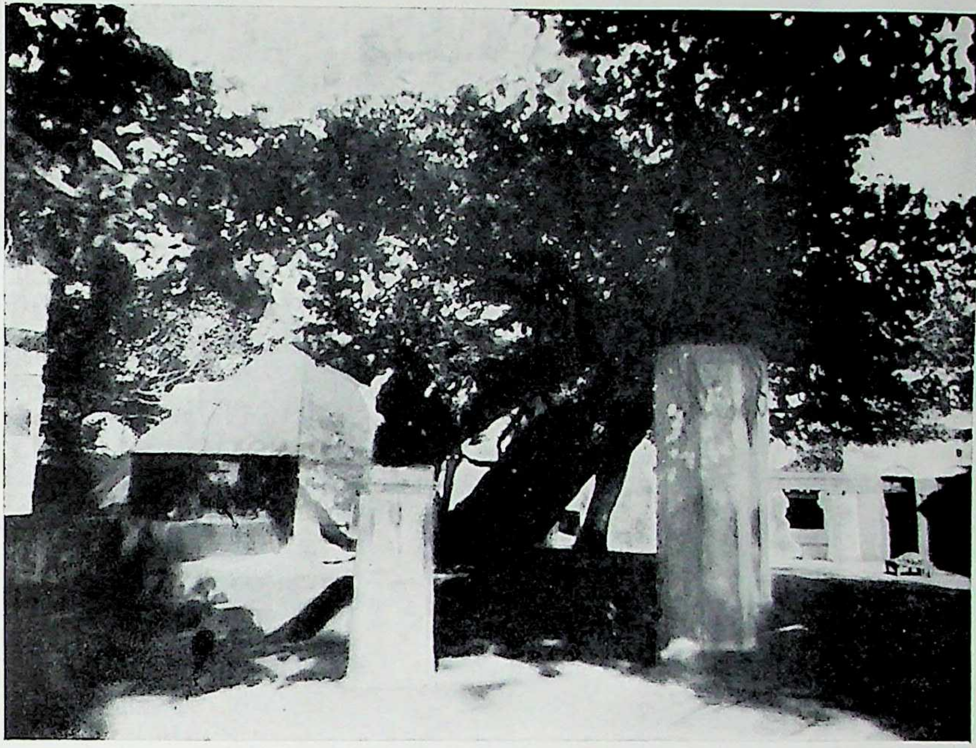


Fig. 8 AKSHAYAVAṬA (Modern)

Fig. 9 DHARMĀRAṆYA (Modern)

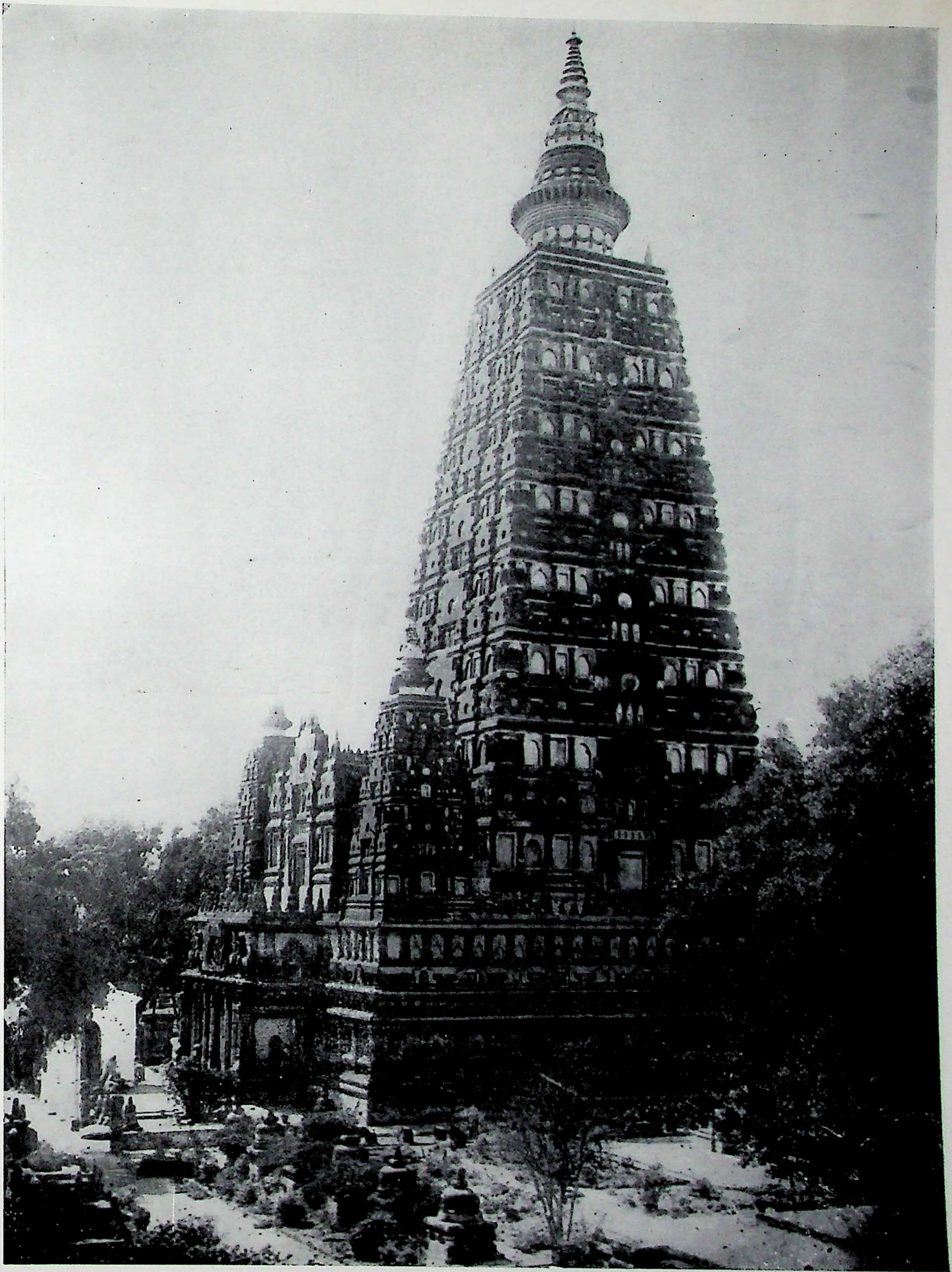


Fig. 10. GREAT TEMPLE OF BODH-GAYĀ

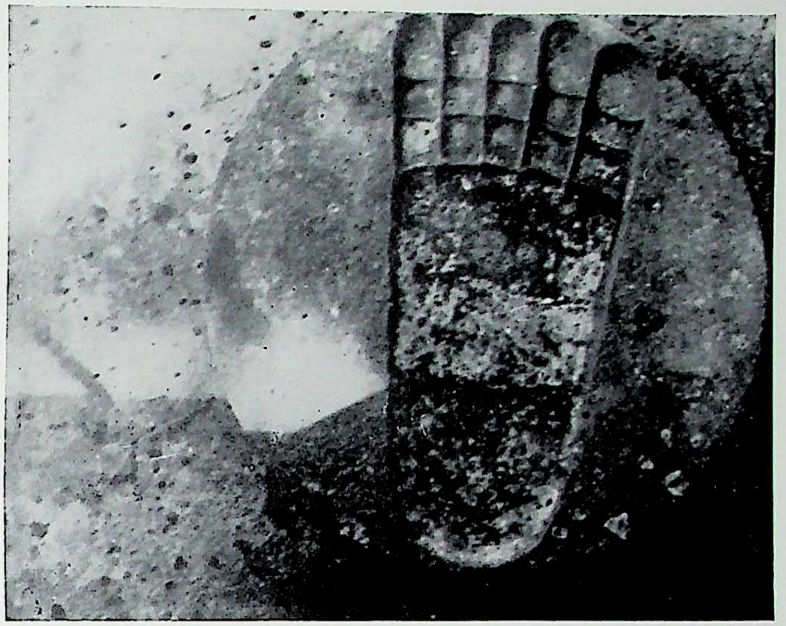


Fig. 10 (a) VISHṆU'S FOOTPRINT AT BODH-GAYĀ (Modern)

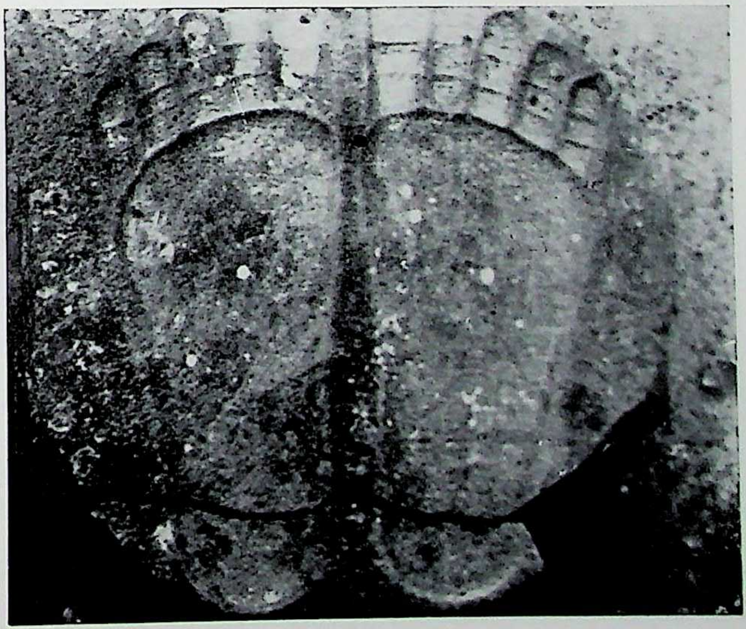


Fig. 10 (b) BUDDHA'S FOOTPRINTS AT BODH-GAYĀ (Modern)

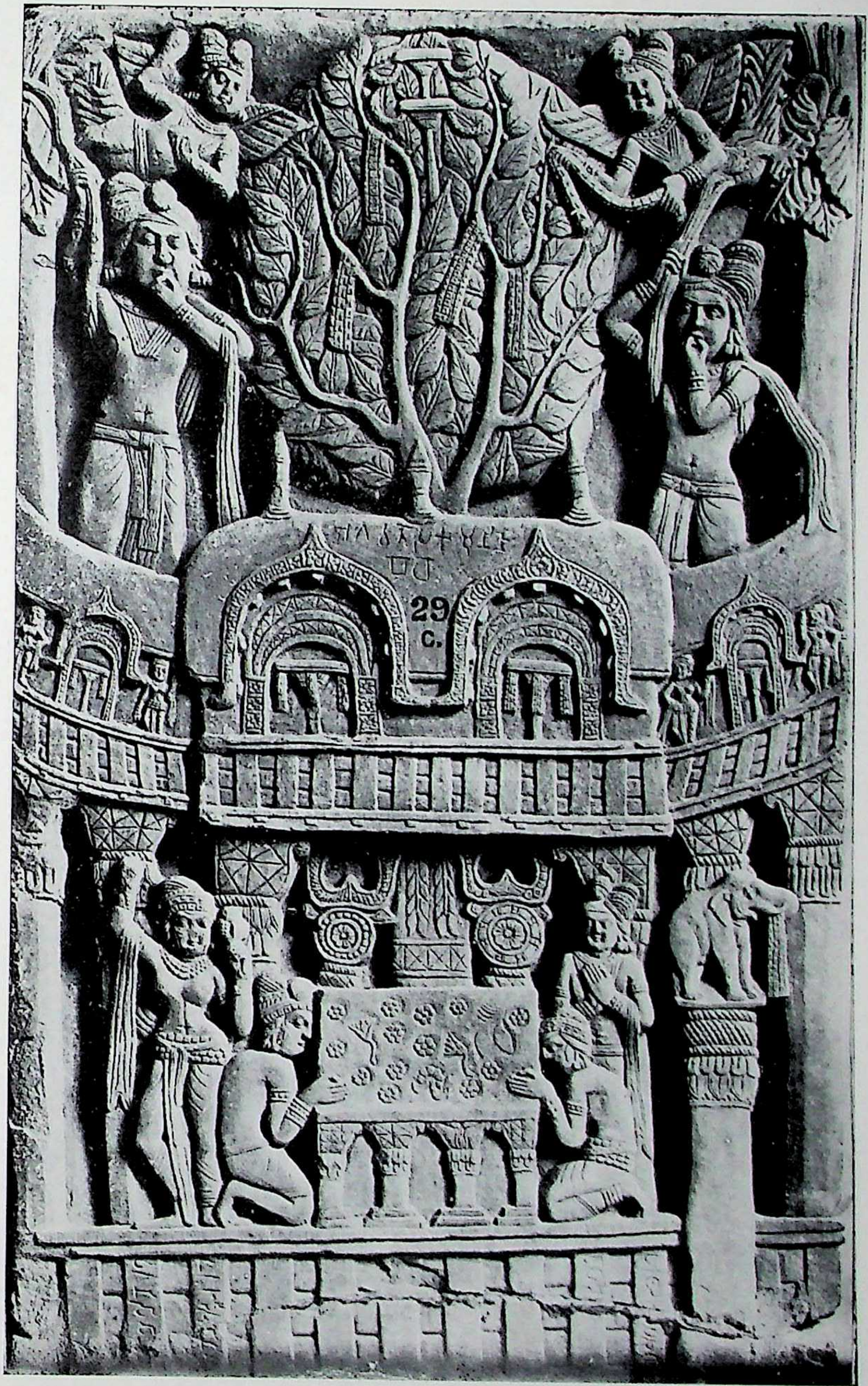


Fig. 11. THE BO-TREE OF BUDDHA ŚĀKYAMUNI WITH THE RAILING, THE DIAMOND THRONE AND THE AŚOKAN PILLAR

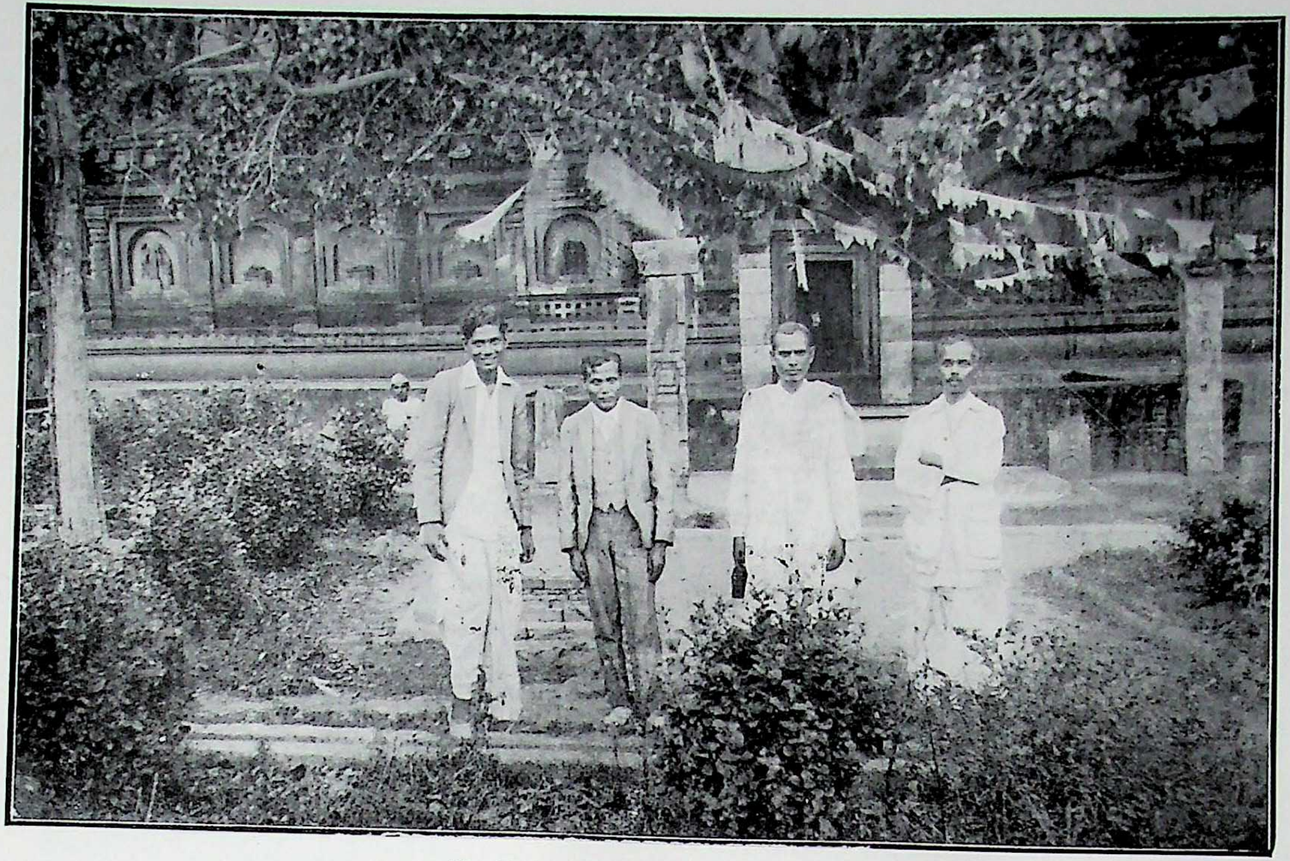


Fig. 11 A. THE PRESENT BO-TREE

BO-TREES, THEIR REIGN AND GERMINATION

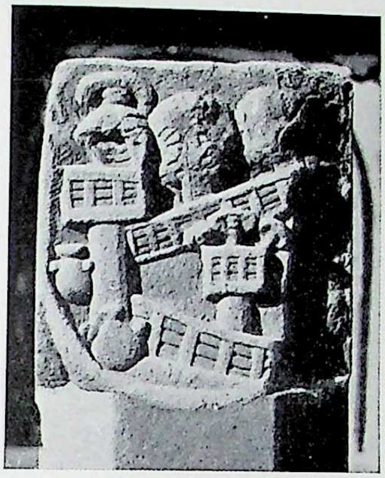


Fig. 12

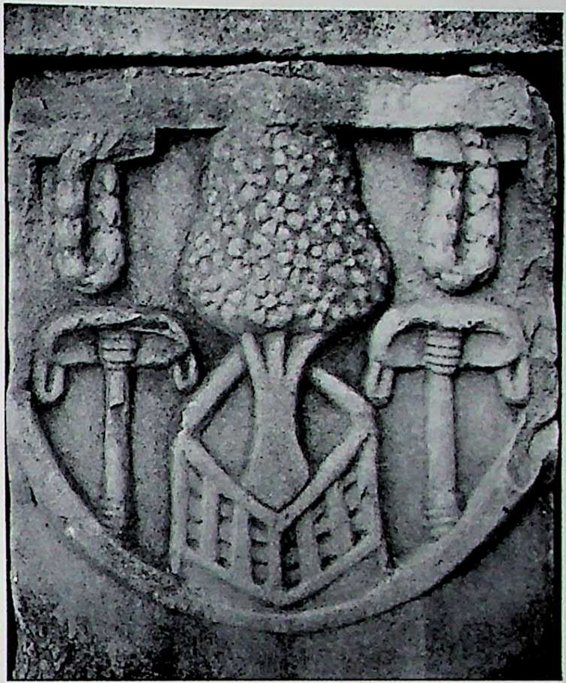


Fig. 13 (a)

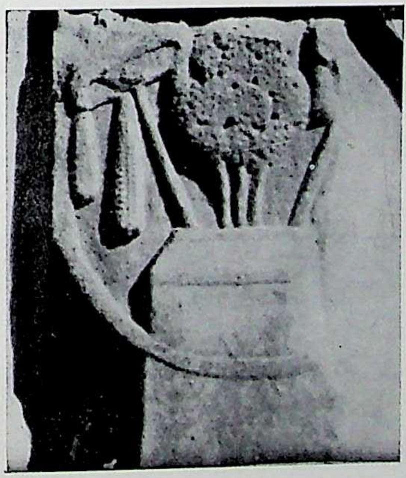


Fig. 13 (b)

Fig. 13 (c)

See also Figs. 51 (a, b). For Fig. 14 see Fig. 17

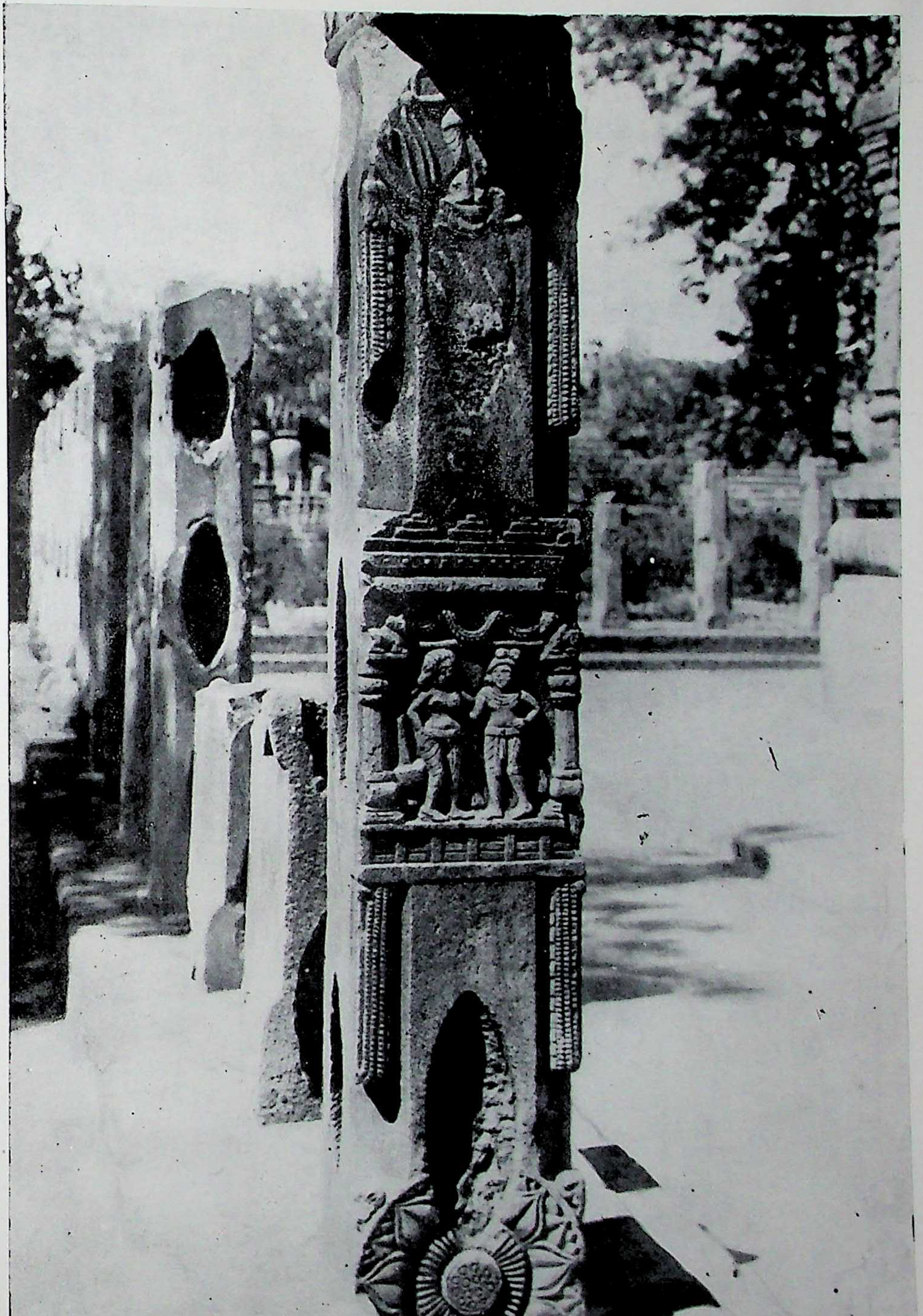


Fig. 15. A SOUTH-WEST CORNER VIEW OF PRESENT RAILING.

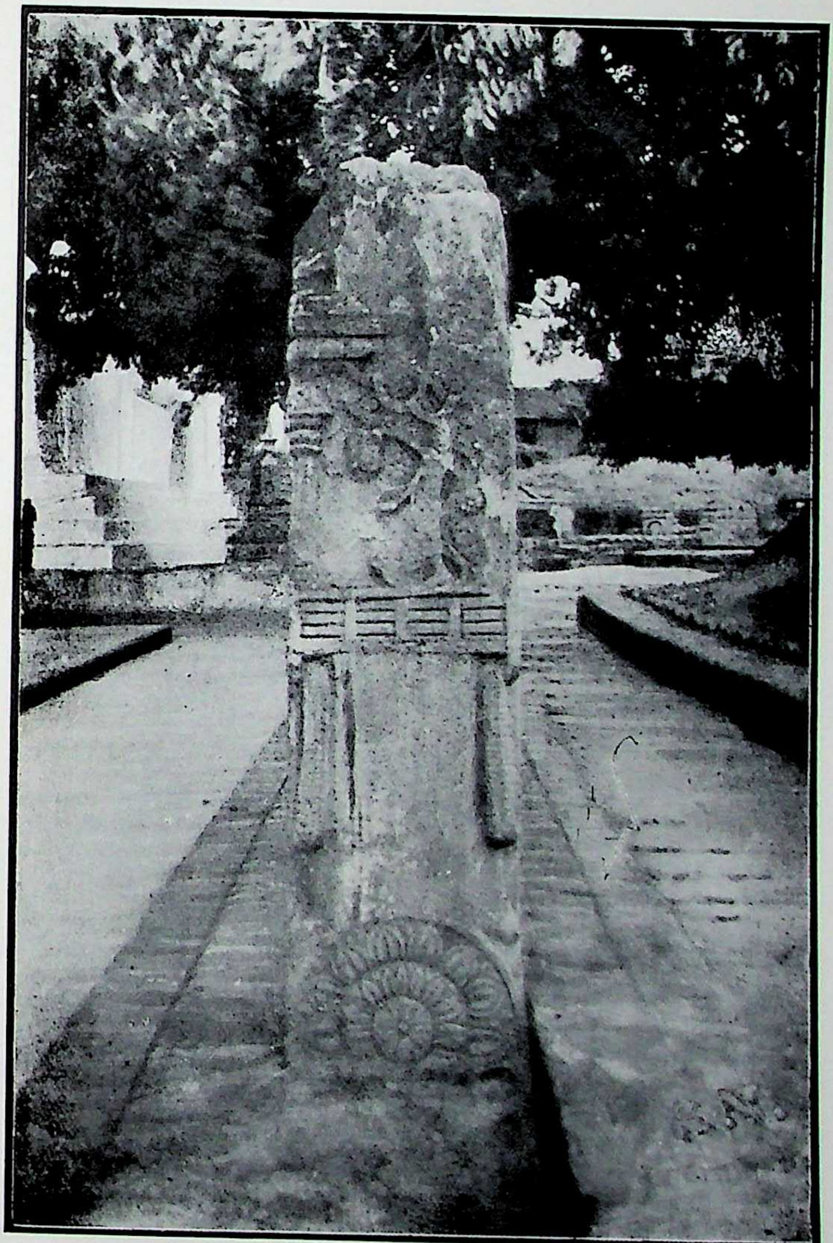


Fig. 15 (a) A SOUTH-GATE PILLAR OF PRESENT RAILING, CORRESPONDING TO THAT IN Fig. 15.

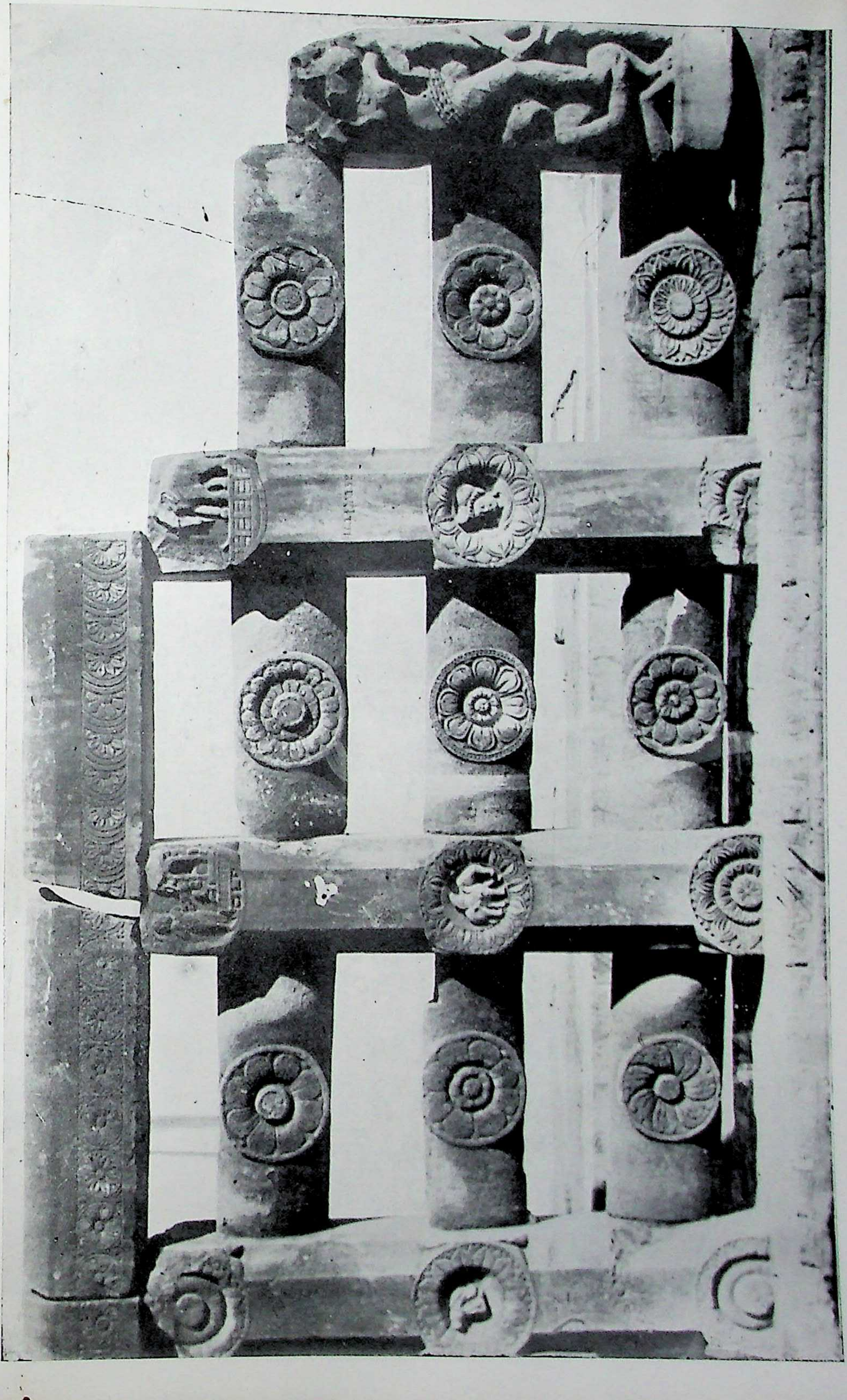


Fig. 17. A PIECE OF SANDSTONE RAILING
ONE PILLAR BEARING AN INSCRIPTION OF KURAṄGI

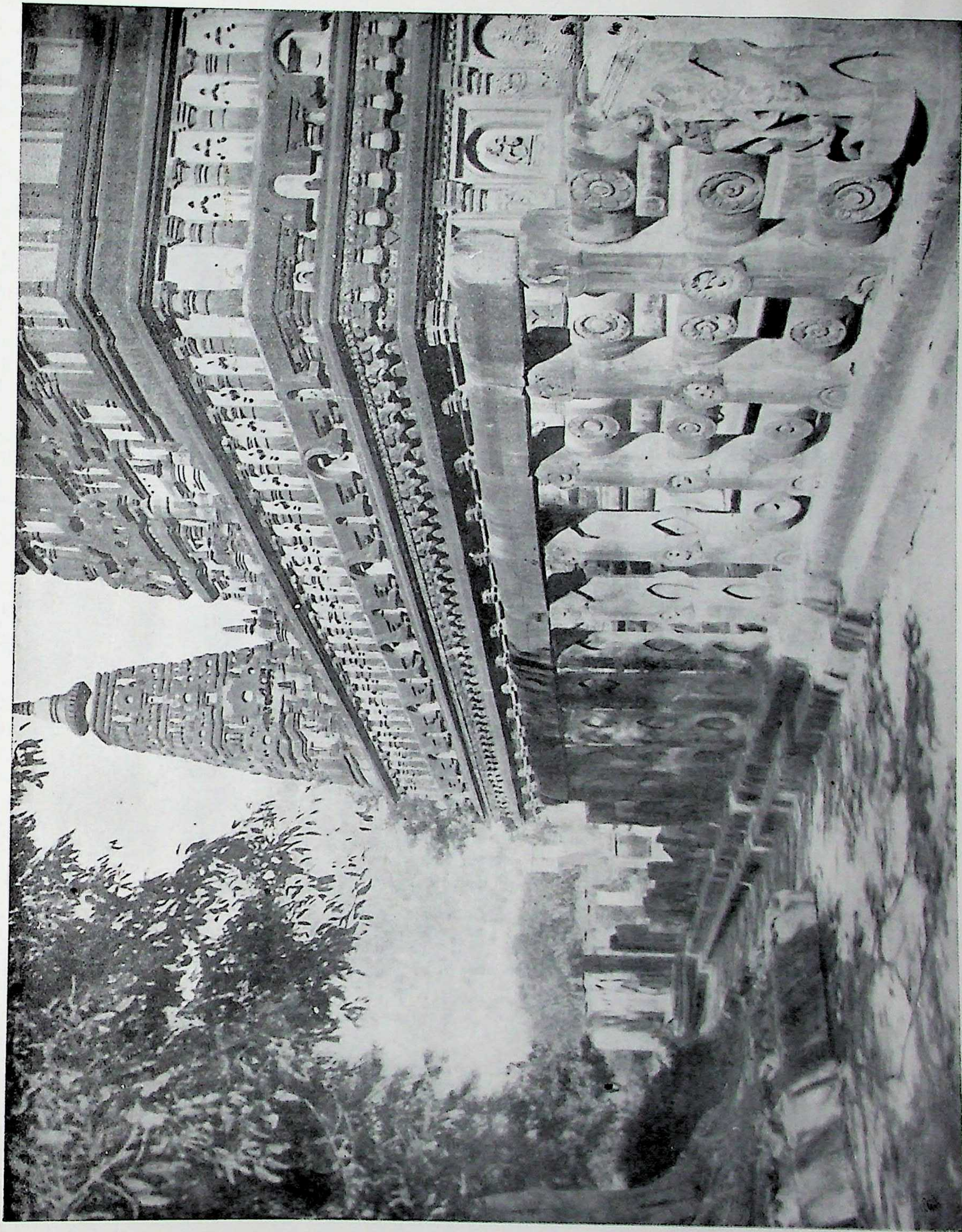


Fig. 18. A SOUTHERN VIEW OF BODH-GAYĀ TEMPLE AND RAILING

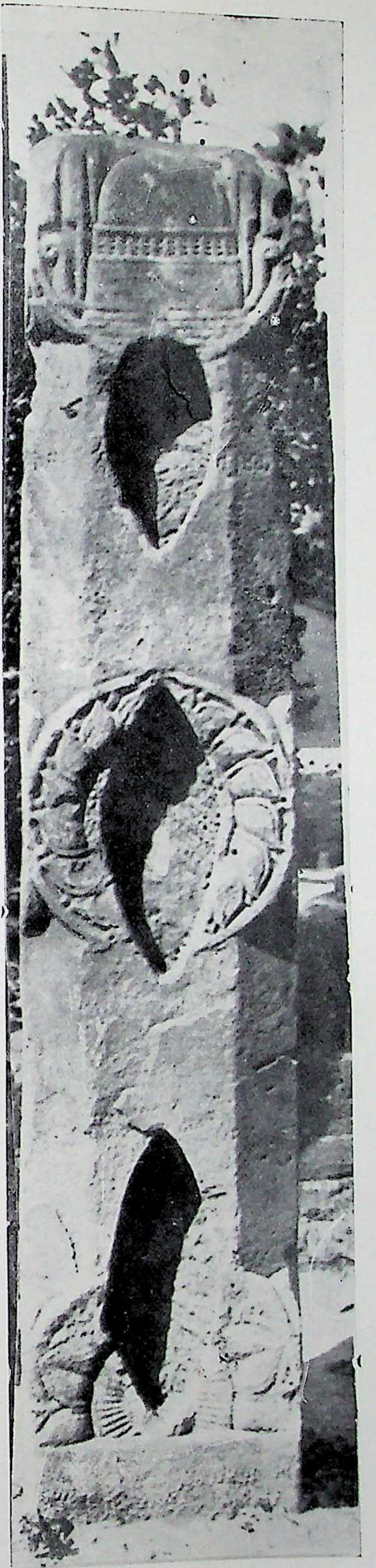


Fig. 19. SANDSTONE PILLAR ON THE EAST SIDE, BEARING THE INSCRIPTION OF SIRIMĀ.

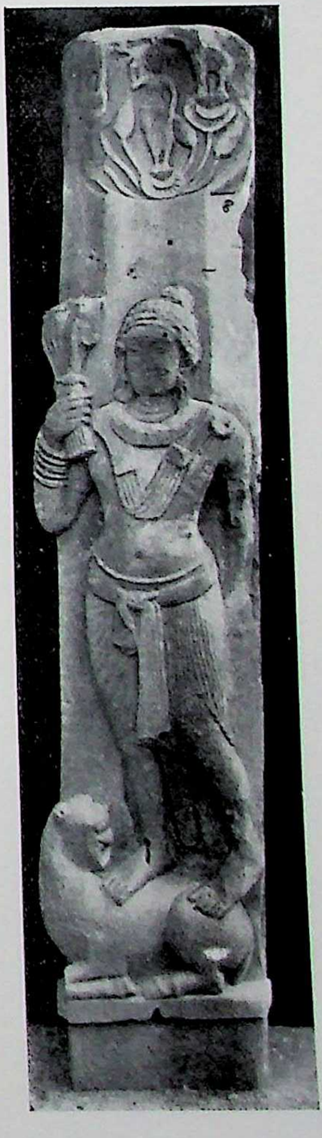


Fig. 20. YAKSHA PILLAR
(of false gate)
See YAKSHIṆI PILLAR IN Fig. 17.

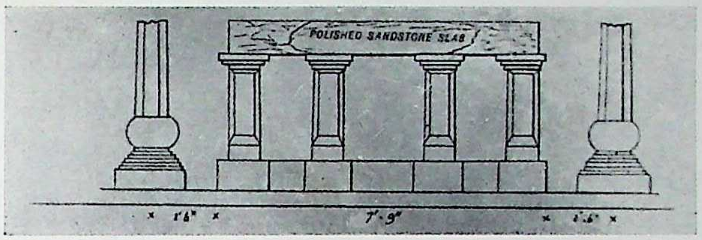

POLISHED SANDSTONE SLAB
× 1'6" ×
7'-9"
× 1'-6" ×

Fig. 21—OLD DIAMOND-THRONE
and remnants of
OLD DIAMOND-THRONE TEMPLE

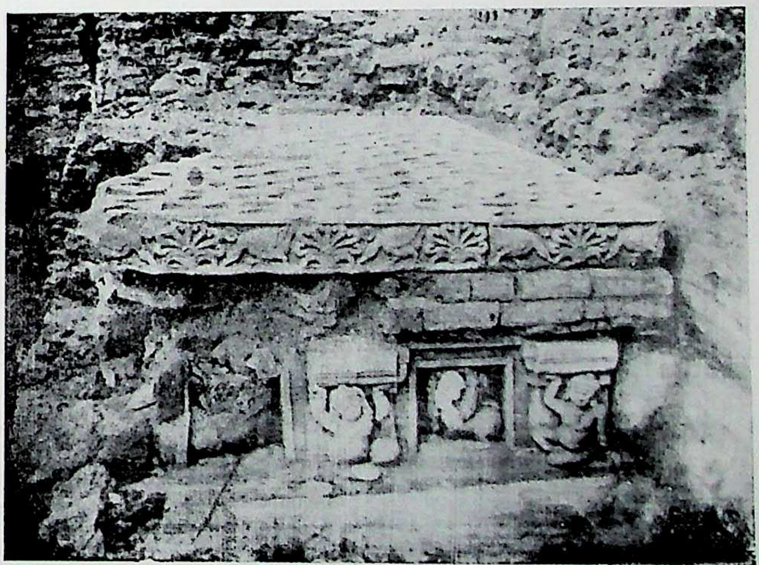


Fig. 21 (a)—VAJRĀSANA
in front of the Present Bo-tree bearing the upper covering stone-slab
of the Old Diamond-throne

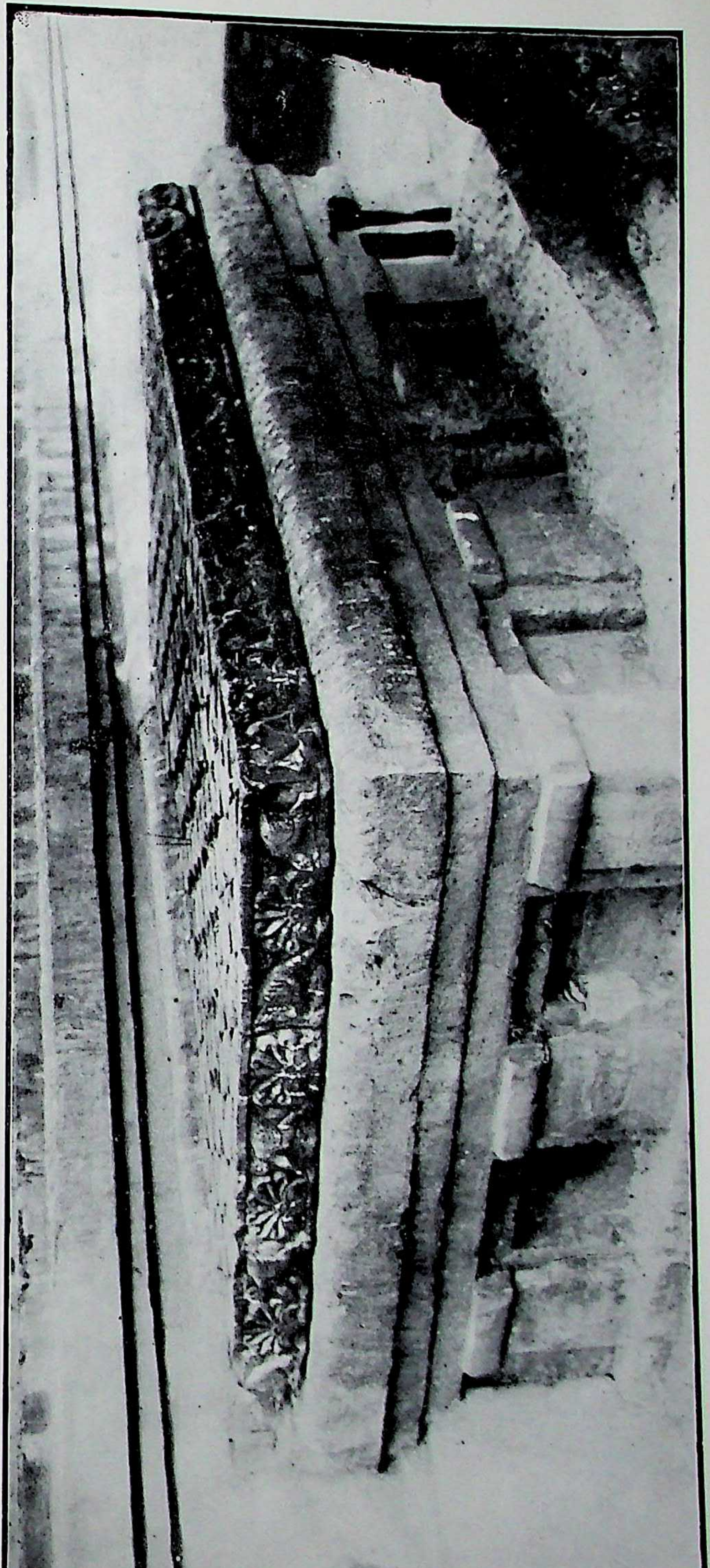


Fig. 22. UPPER COVERING SLAB OF THE OLD DIAMOND THRONE

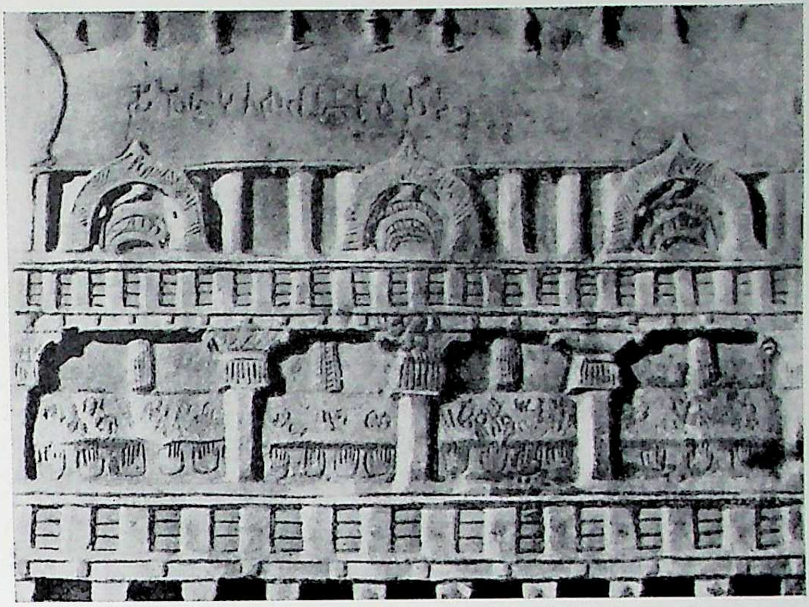


Fig. 23 BARHUT DESIGN OF JEWEL-WALK AND JEWEL-WALK SHRINE

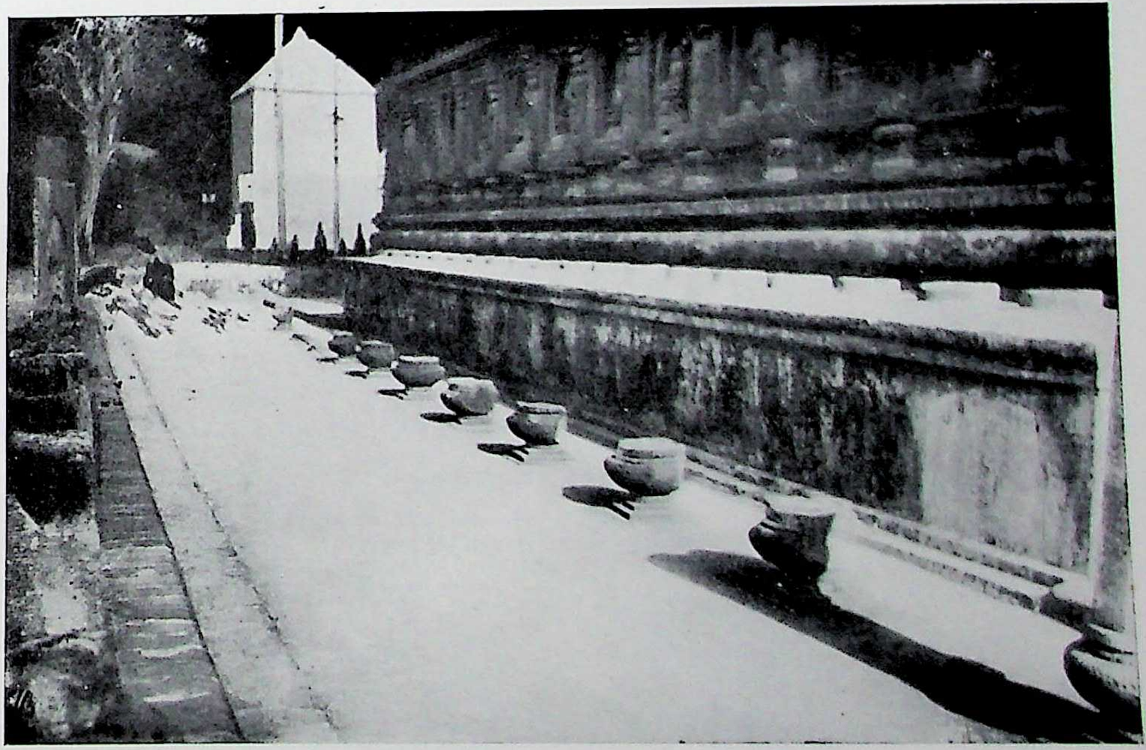


Fig. 24 BODH-GAYĀ JEWEL-WALK

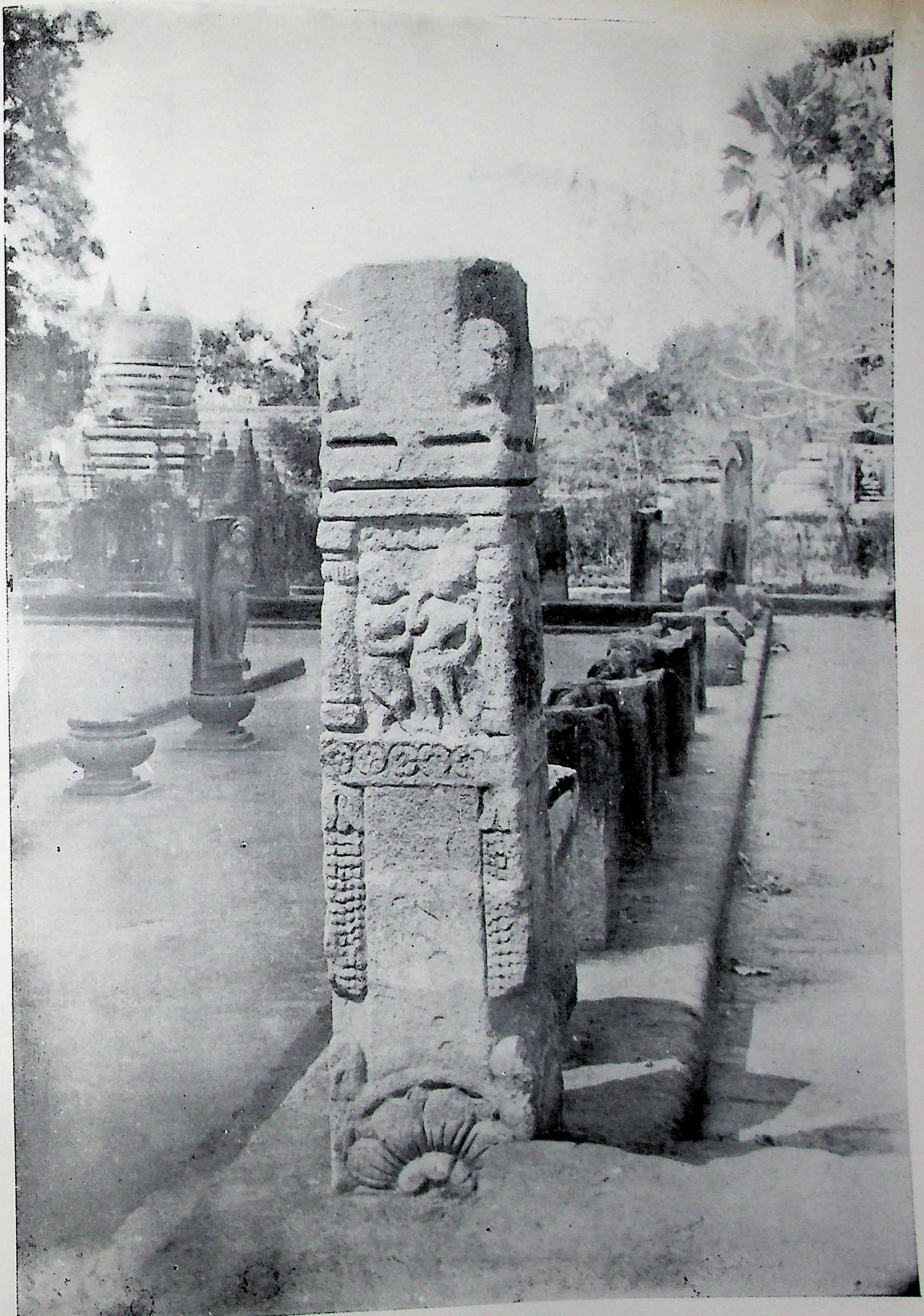


Fig. 24 (b). A NORTH-WEST CORNER VIEW OF PRESENT RAILING AND JEWEL-WORK PILLARS.

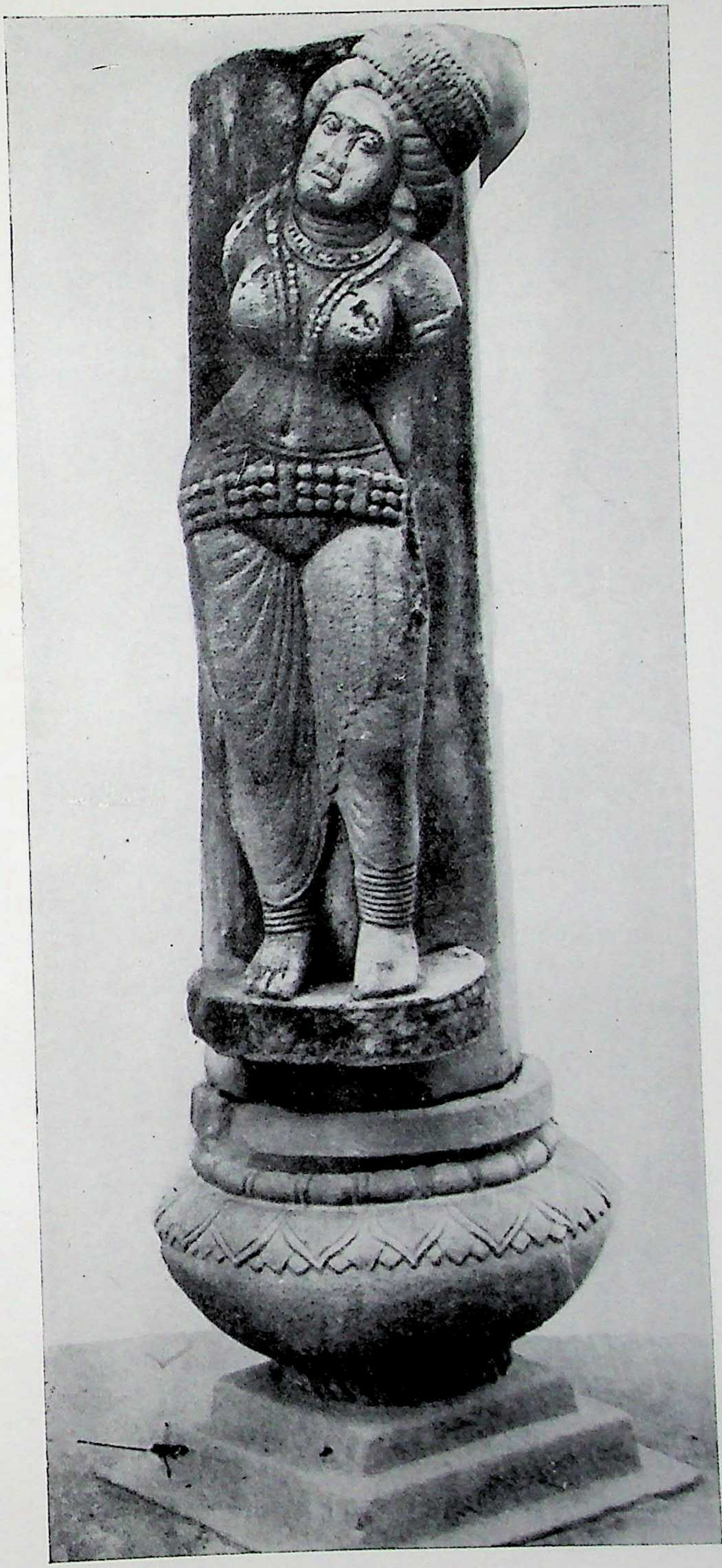


Fig. 25 (a) FIRST PILLAR OF THE JEWEL-WALK SHRINE (Lower Part)

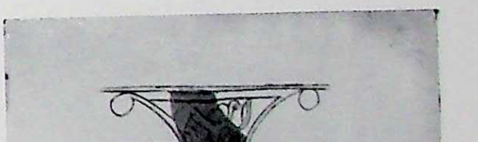


Fig. 25 (b) FIRST PILLAR OF THE JEWEL WALK SHRINE (Full View)

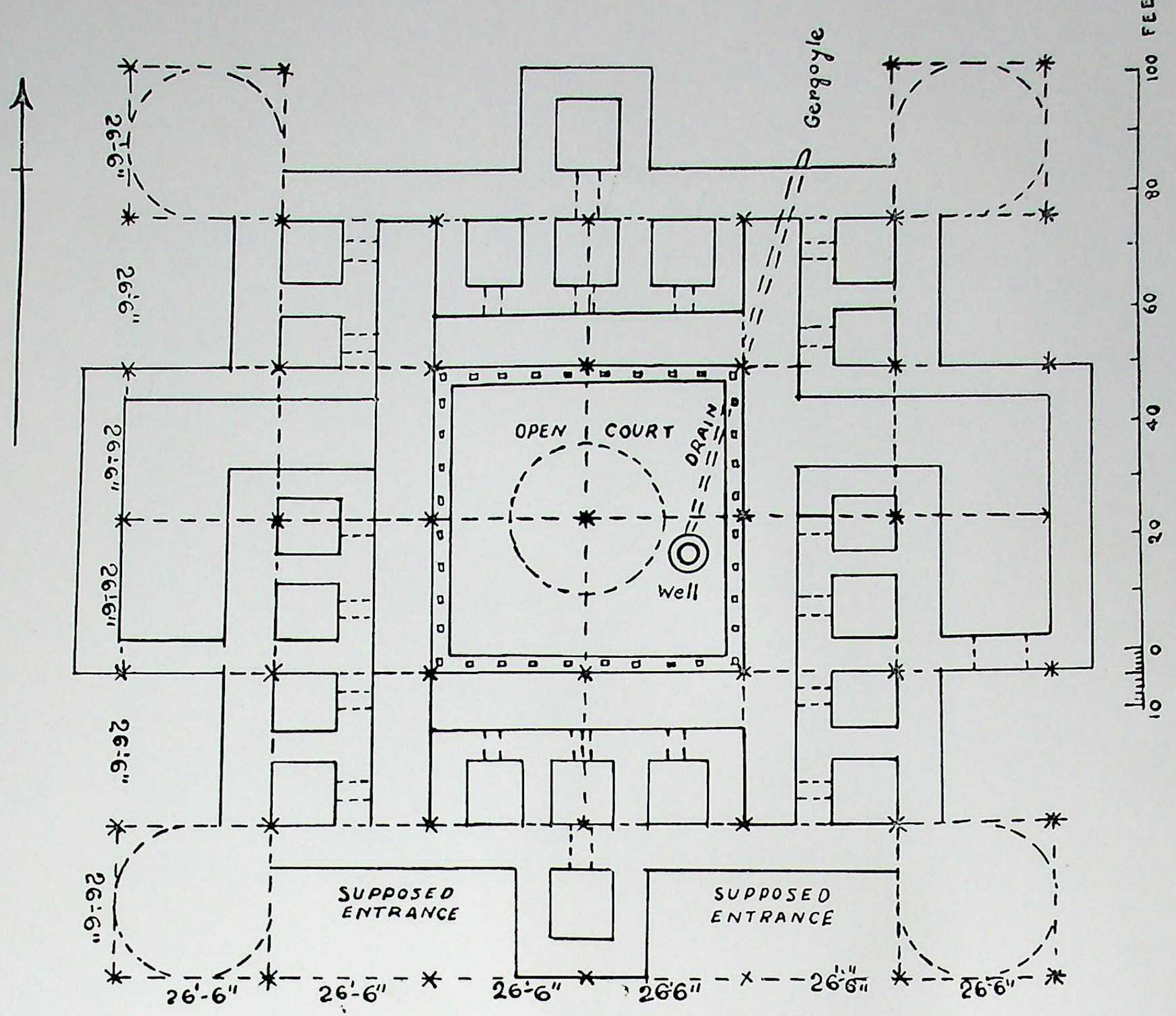

26'-6"
26'-6"
26'-6"
26'-6"
26'-6"
26'-6"
OPEN COURT
DRAIN
Well
Gergoyle
SUPPOSED ENTRANCE
SUPPOSED ENTRANCE
26'-6"
26'-6"
26'-6"
26'-6"
26'-6"
26'-6"
10
0
20
40
60
80
100 FEET

Fig. 26. GROUND PLAN OF MAHĀBODHI SAṄGHĀRĀMA
(From Cunningham)

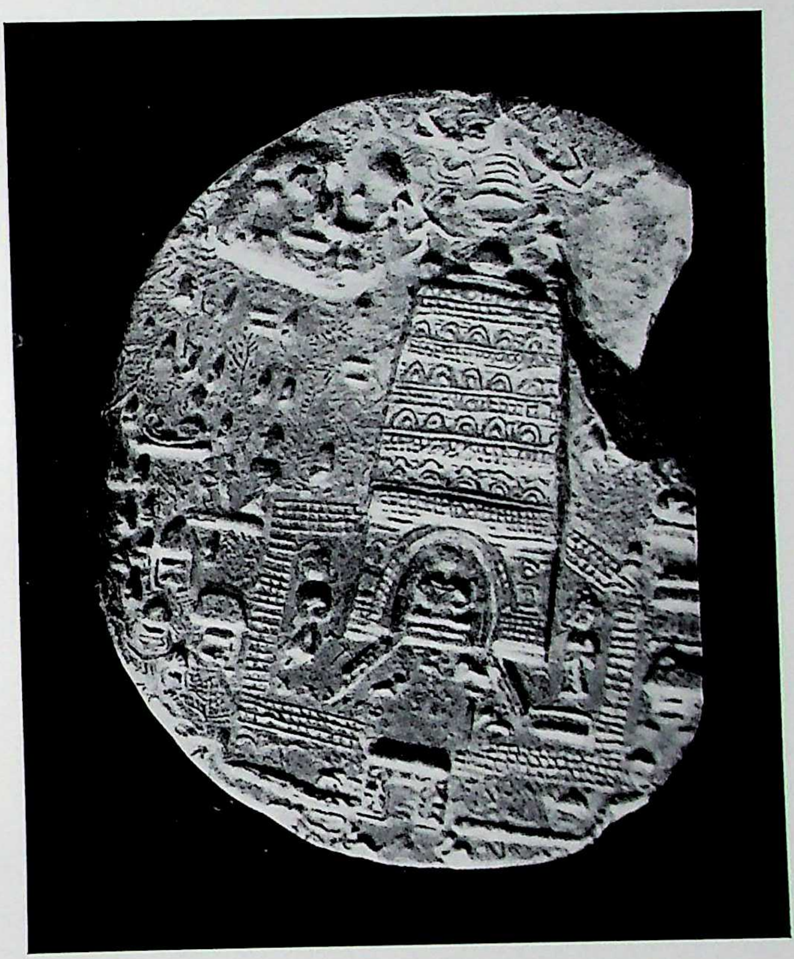


Fig. 28—BODH-GAYĀ PLAQUE

For Fig. 27 (a)—see Cunningham's "Mahābodhi', Pl. XVI.
For Fig. 27 (b)—see Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1927—28, Pl. LVII, Fig. A.
For Fig. 29 see Fig. 24 (a).

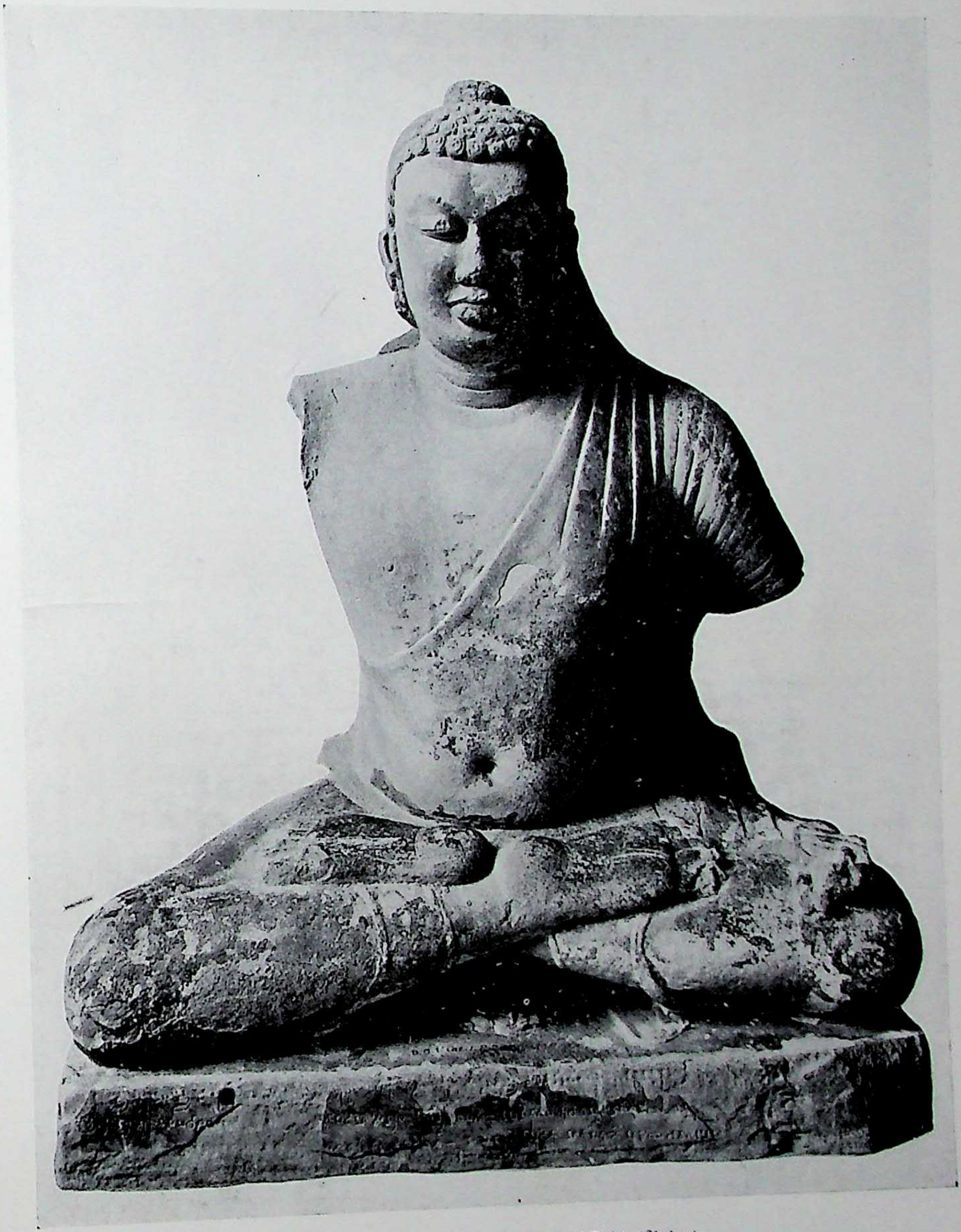


Fig. 33 (a) BUDDHA-BODHISATTVA (Sitting)
For 33 (b) Standing figure see
STELLA KRAMRISCH'S INDIAN SCULPTURE, Fig. 55.

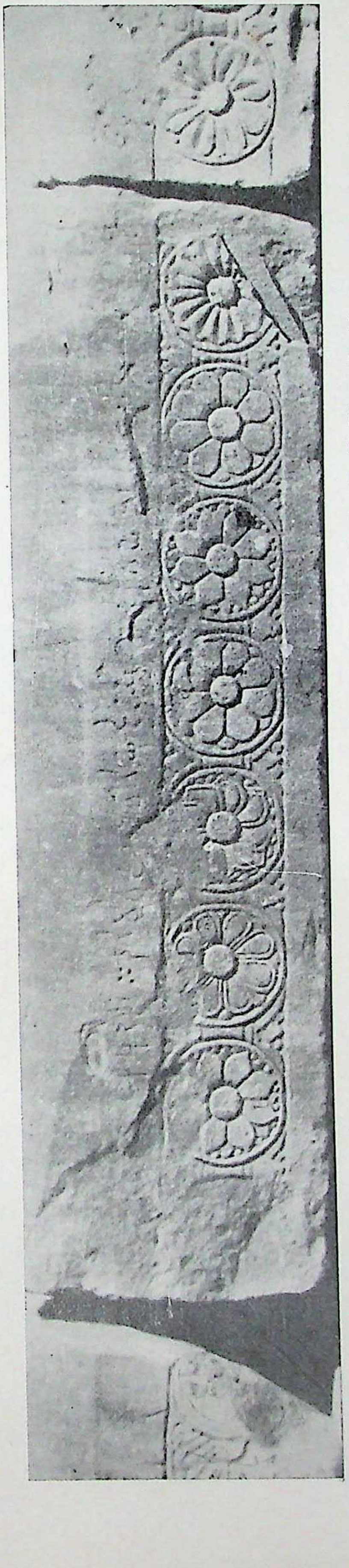


Fig. 32—INSCRIPTION OF KURAṄGI AND SIRIMĀ. For Fig. 30 see Fig. 9. For Fig. 31 see Fig. 20

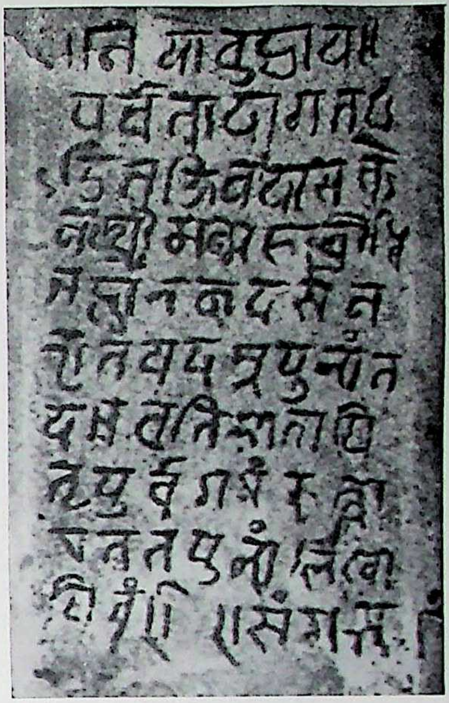


Fig. 34—INSCRIPTION OF JINADĀSA

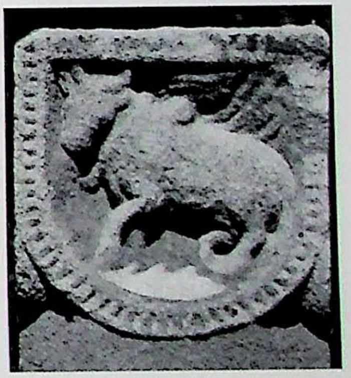


Fig. 35

Fig. 36—[redacted]

FIGURES IN GRANITE

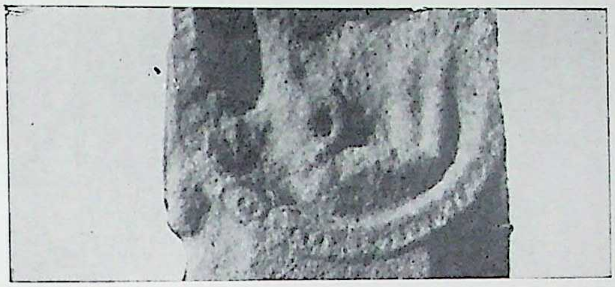


Fig. 37

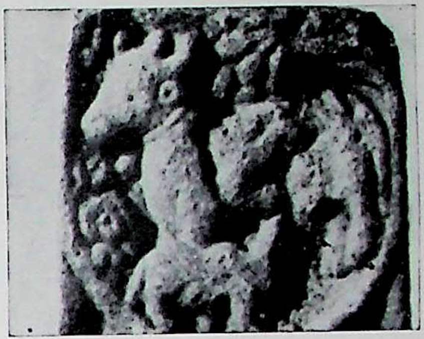


Fig. 38

Fig. 40—KIRTTIMUKHA (not reproduced)

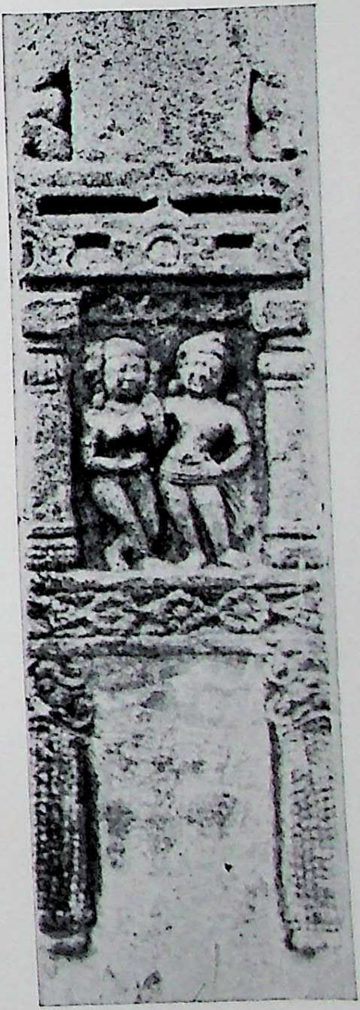
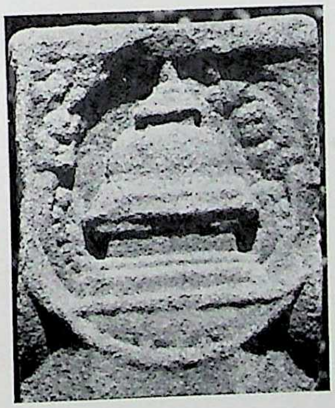


Fig. 41



Fig, 39

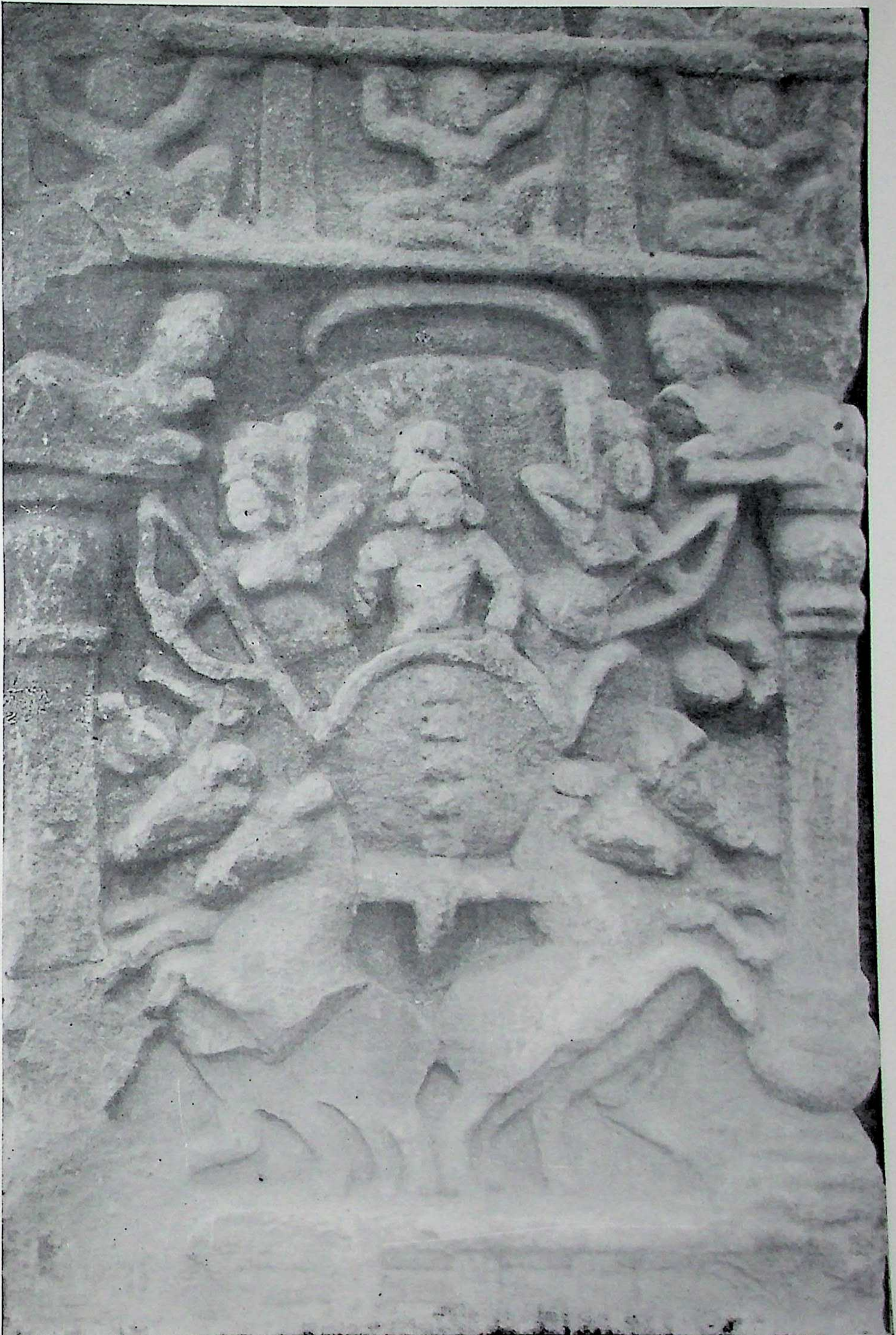


Fig. 42—SŪRYA (The Sun).

SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC

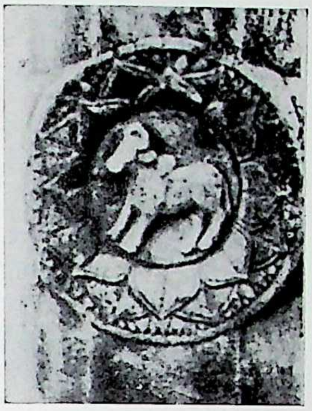


Fig. 43 (a)—VṚISHA ?

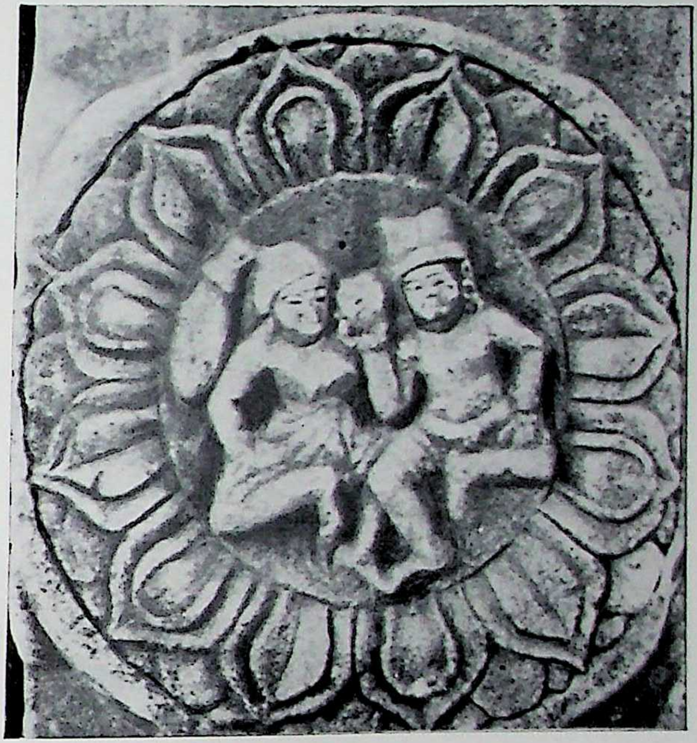


Fig. 43 (b)—MITHUNA

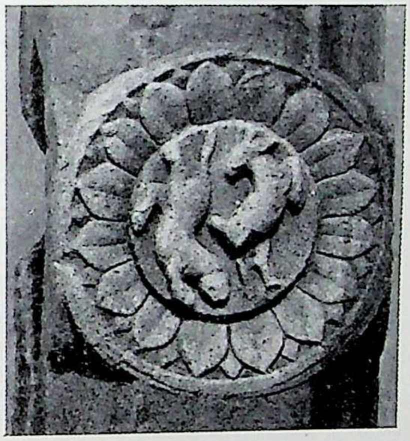


Fig. 43 (c)—MITHUNA

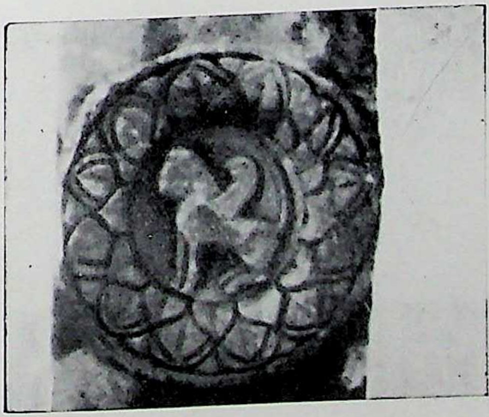


Fig. 43 (d)—SIṂHA

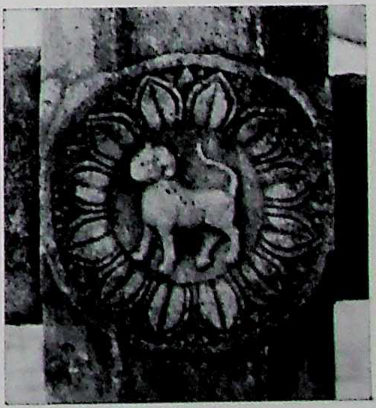


Fig. 43 (e)—SIṂHA (duplicate)

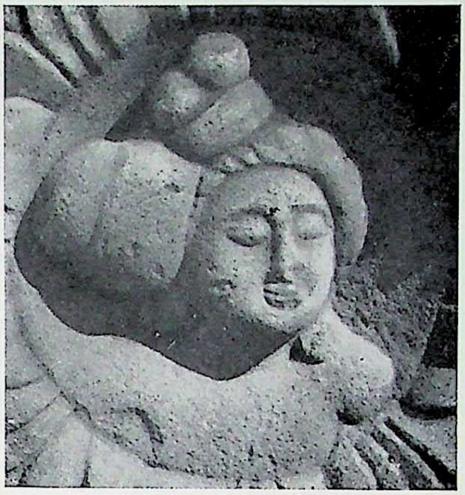


Fig. 43 (f) KANYĀ

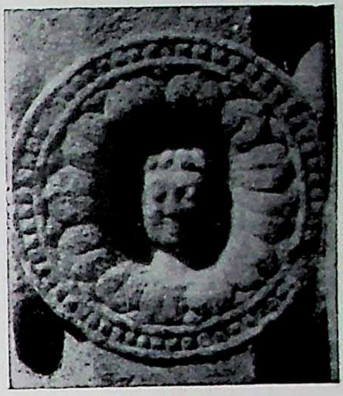


Fig. 43 (g) KANYĀ (in granite)

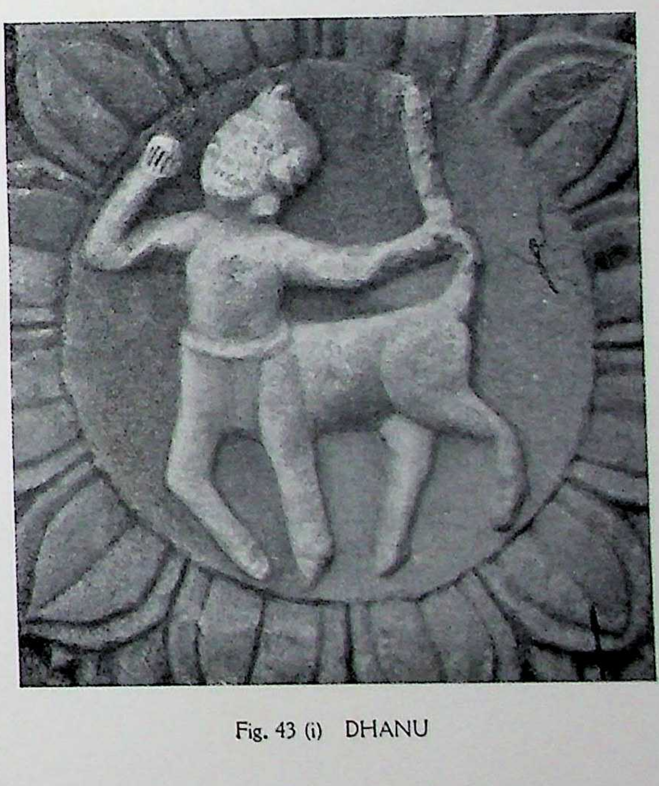


Fig. 43 (i) DHANU

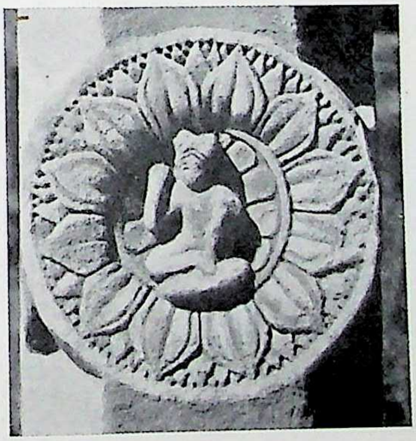


Fig. 43 (h) TULĀ

Fig. 43 (j) MAKARA (not reproduced)

RĀŚICHAKRA

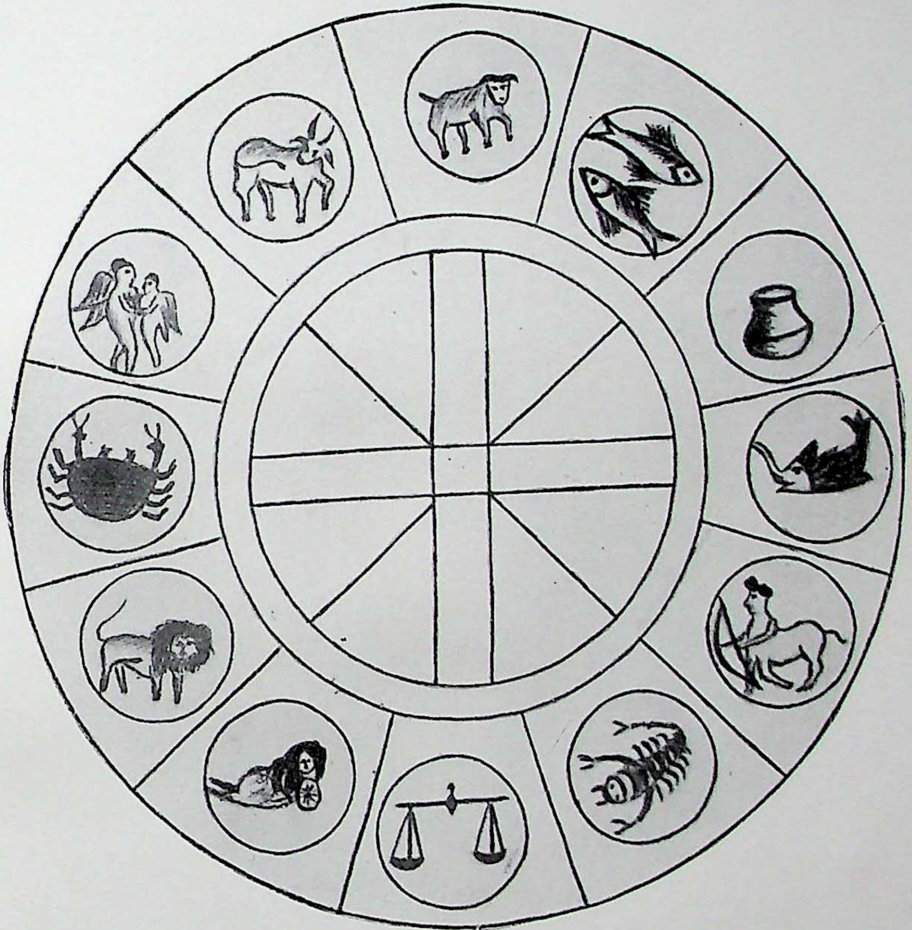


Fig. 43 (k) CYCLE OF THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC
(by Mrinal K. Chosh)
Supplied for comparison

NAKSHATRAS

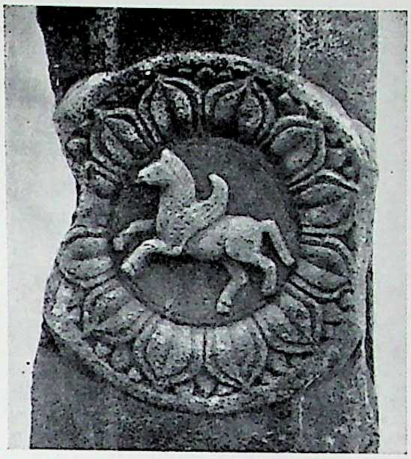


Fig. 44 (a) AŚVA

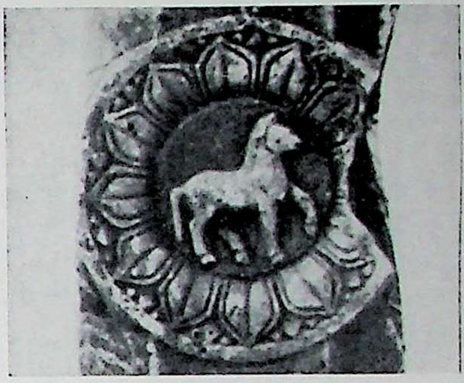


Fig. 44 (b) AŚVA (duplicate)

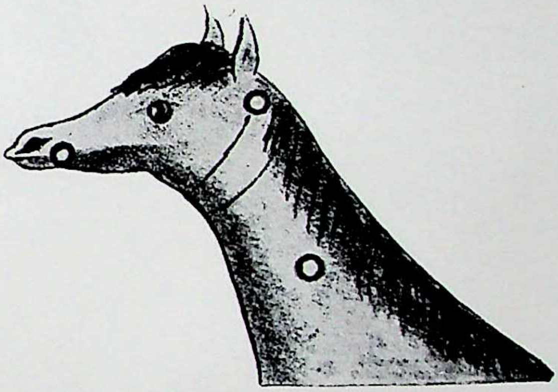


Fig. 44 (c) AŚVIṆI (drawing)
(Supplied for comparison)

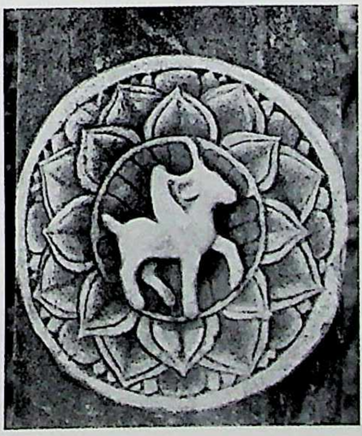


Fig. 44 (d) MṚIGA

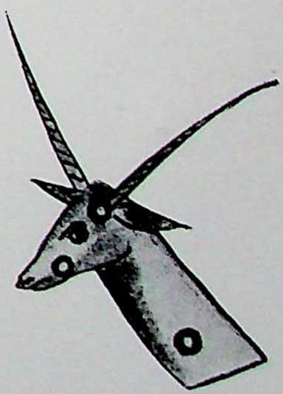


Fig. 44 (e) MṚIGAŚIRĀ (drawing)
(Supplied for comparison)

MYTHICO-ASTRONOMICAL FIGURES

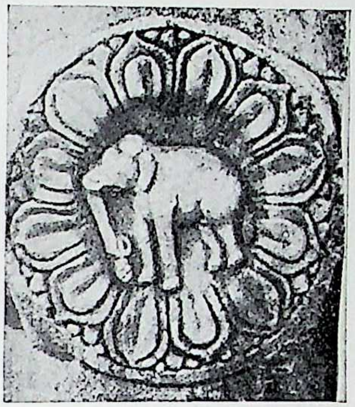


Fig. 45—THE ELEPHANT

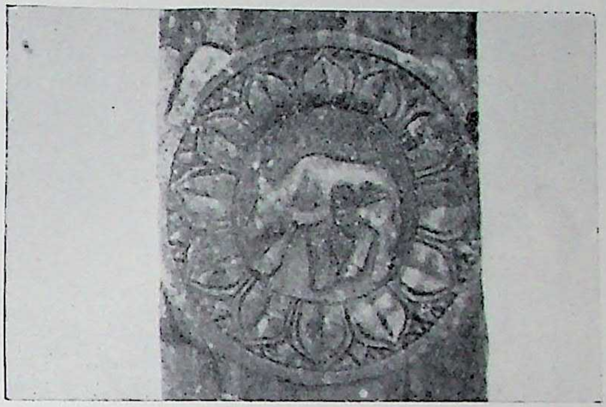


Fig. 45—THE BUFFALO

FOR THE BULL SEE Fig. 35

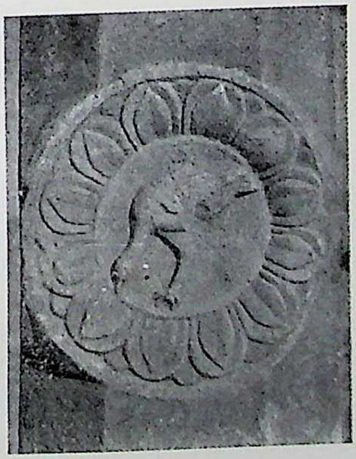


Fig. 45—THE PEACOCK

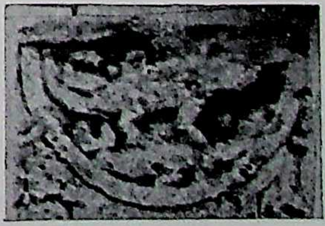


Fig. 45—THE PAIR OF MAKARAS

MYTHICO-ASTRONOMICAL FIGURES
AND POPULAR HINDU DIVINITIES

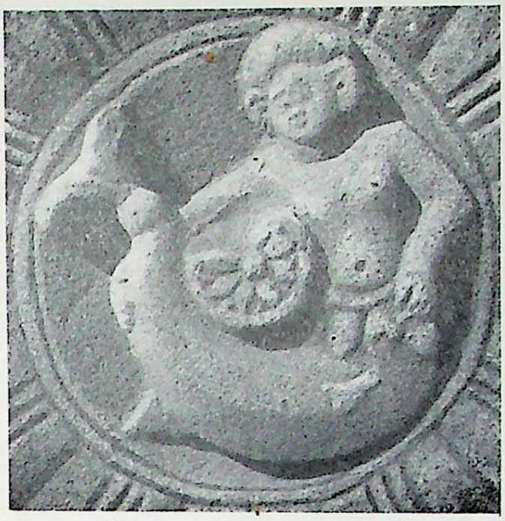


Fig. 45—MERMAID

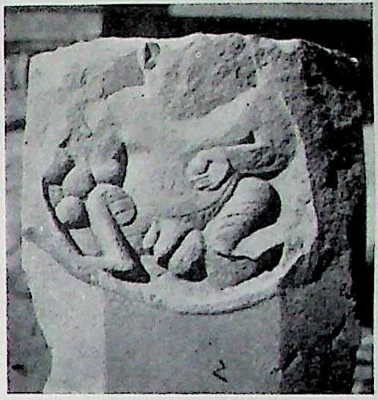


Fig. 45—THE BEAR

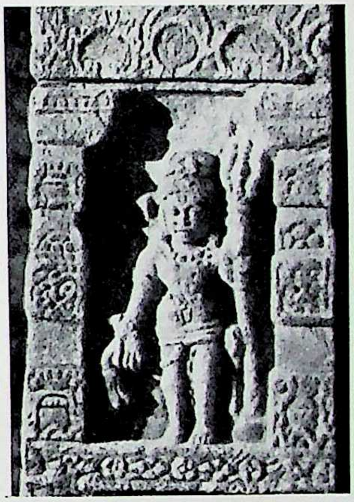


Fig. 46—ŚIVA

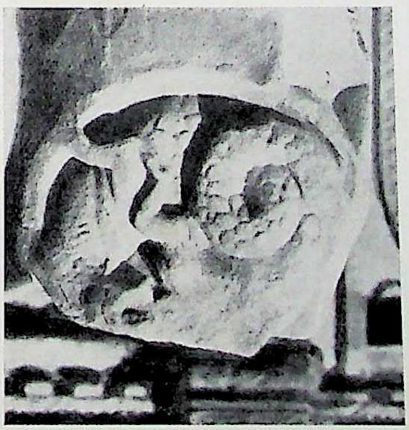


Fig. 47—GAṄGĀ

Fig. 49—ŚRĪ,
See Fig. 19
(Upper panel)

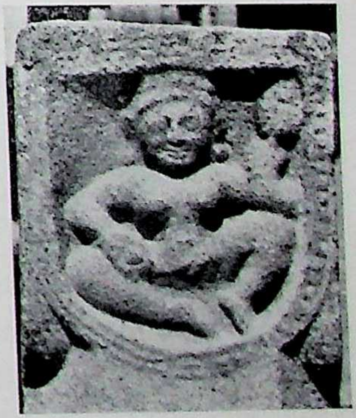


Fig. 48—SIRIMĀ

CHAITYAS

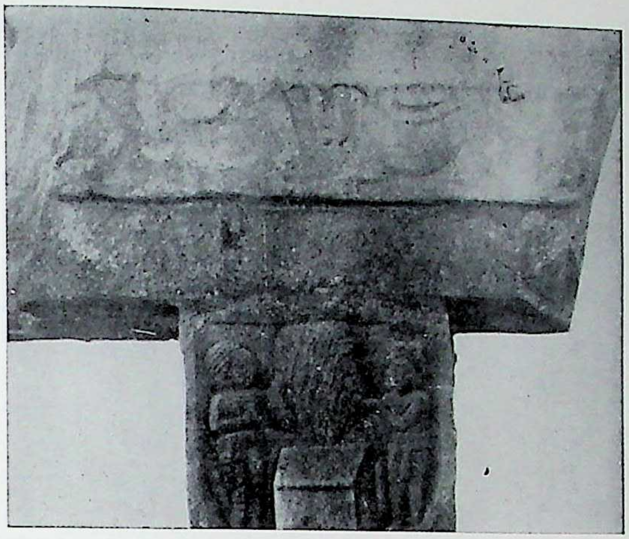


Fig. 51 (a)

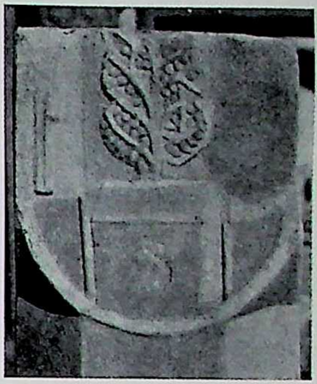


Fig. 51 (b)
See Figs. 13 (a, b, c)

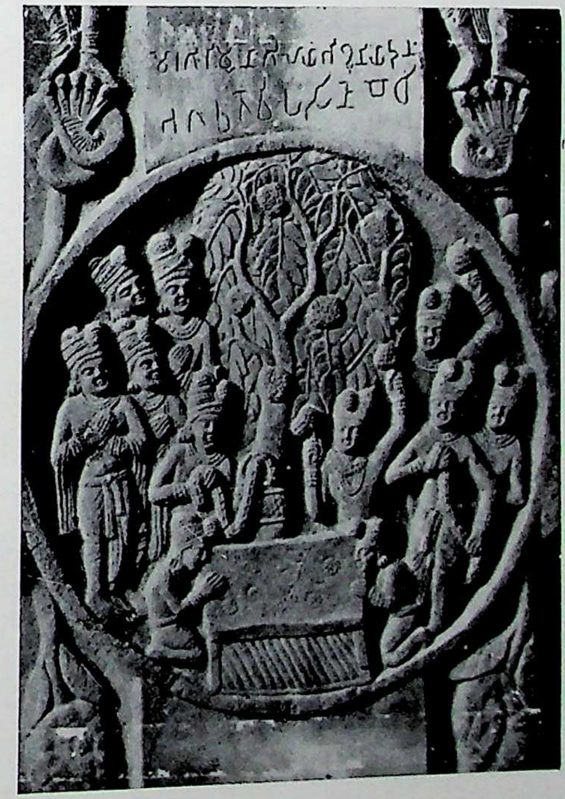


Fig. 51 (c) BARHUT BO-TREE OF VIPAŚCHIT (for comparison)

Fig. 50—not reproduced, Similar to Fig. 52 (a)—second panel from top.

CHAITYAS

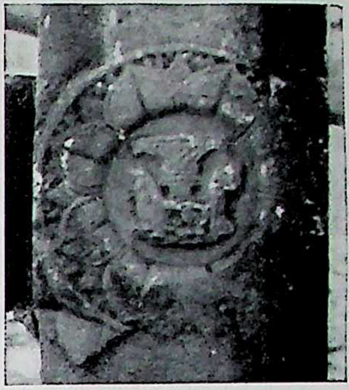


Fig. 52 (b)

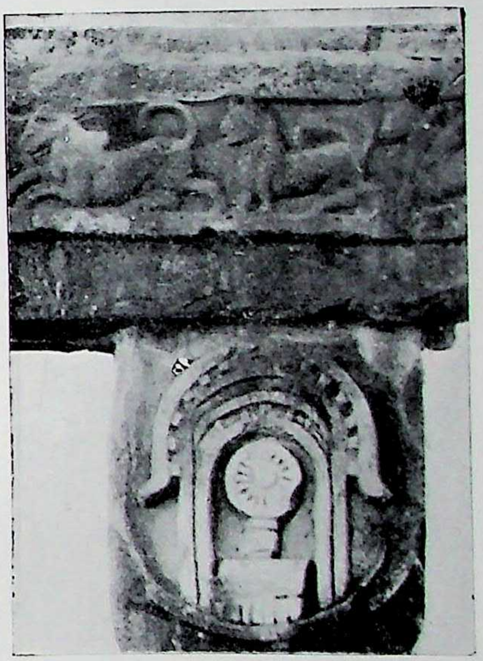


Fig. 52 (c)

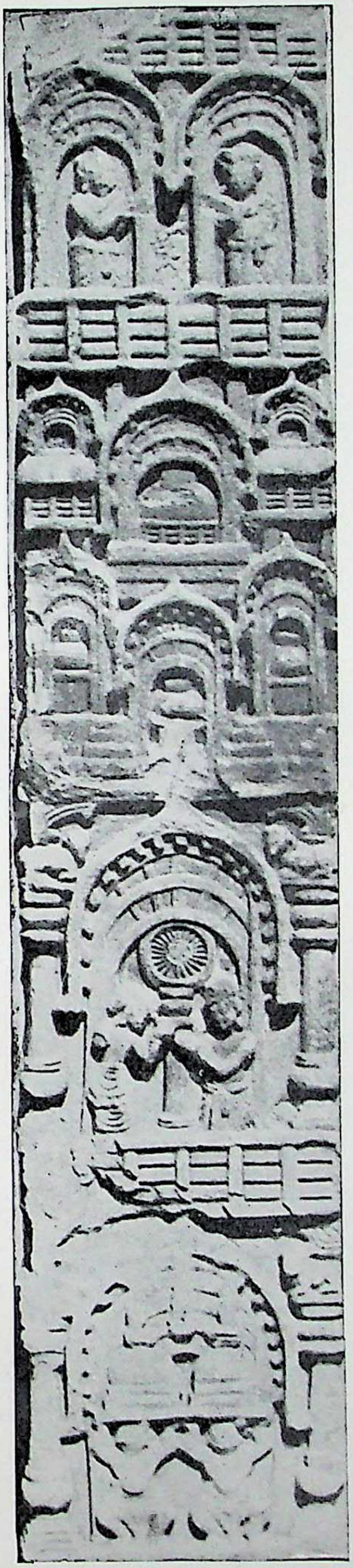


Fig. 52 (a)
FIRST SERMON IN FOUR PANELS

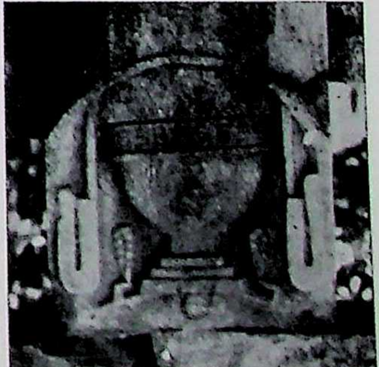


Fig. 53
See Figs. 19, 39

STORIES OF THE PRESENT

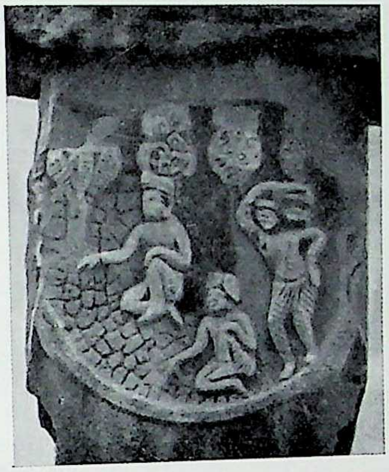


Fig. 54

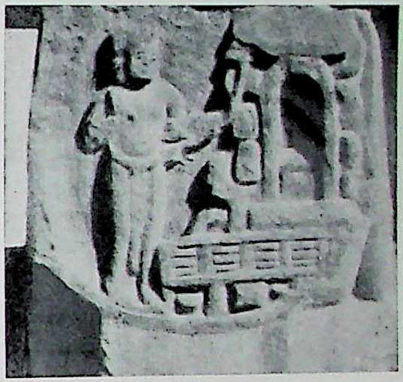


Fig. 55

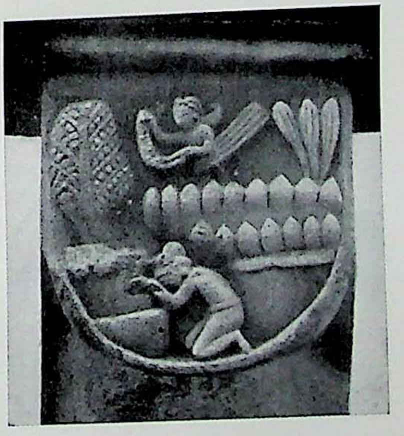


Fig. 56

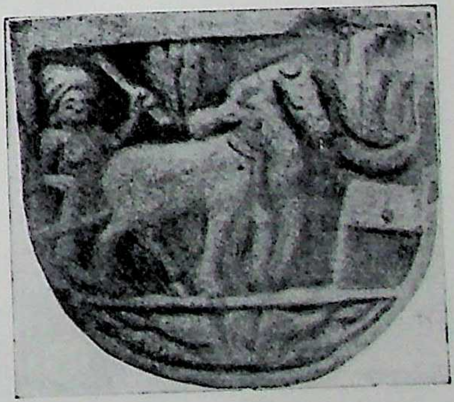


Fig. 57.

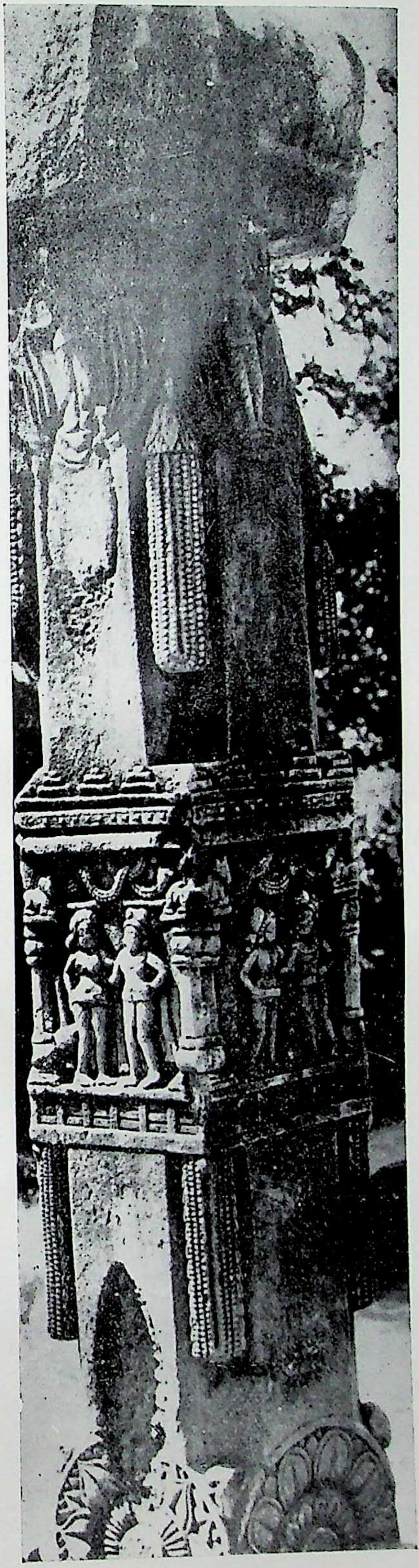


Fig. 58 (Two positions)

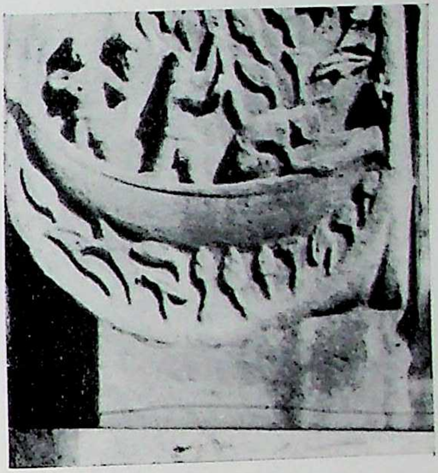


Fig. 59

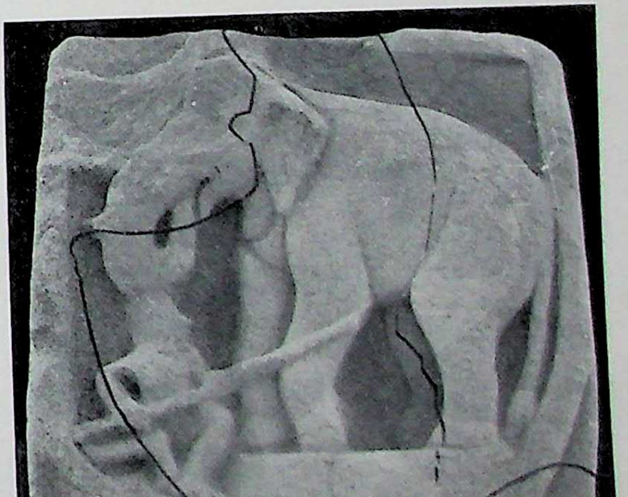


Fig. 60

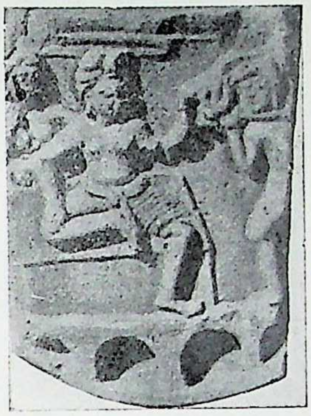


Fig. 61

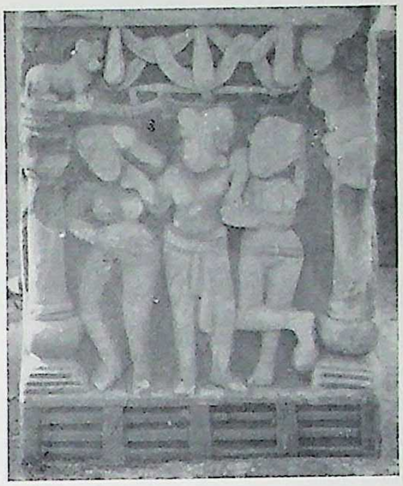
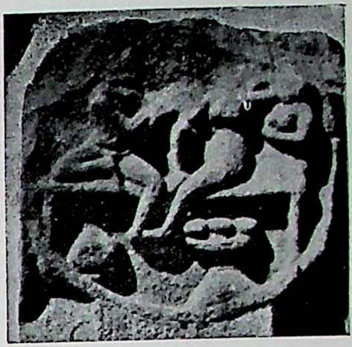


Fig. 62



Fig, 65

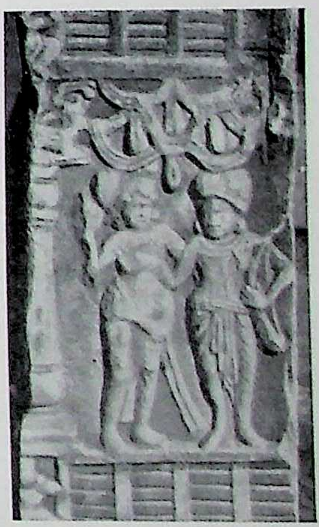


Fig. 64

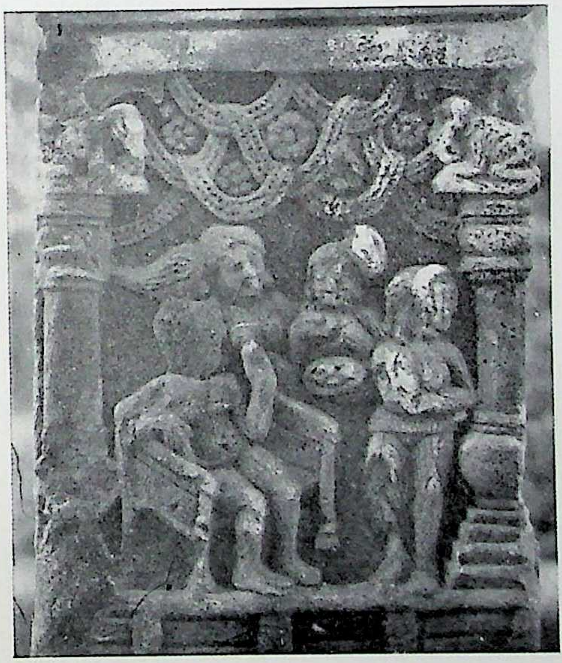


Fig. 63

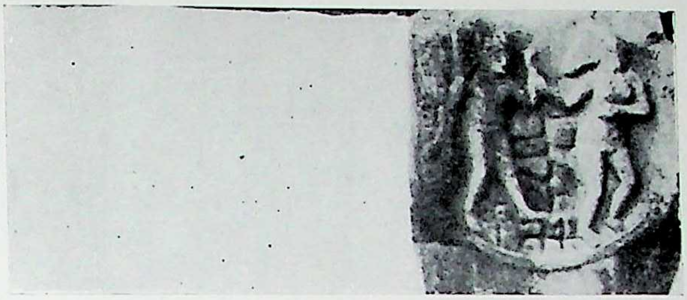


Fig. 66 (a)

Fig. 66 (c)

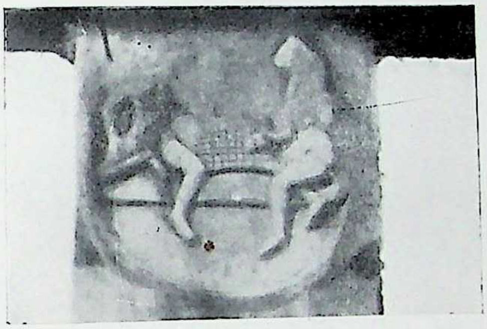


Fig. 66 (b)

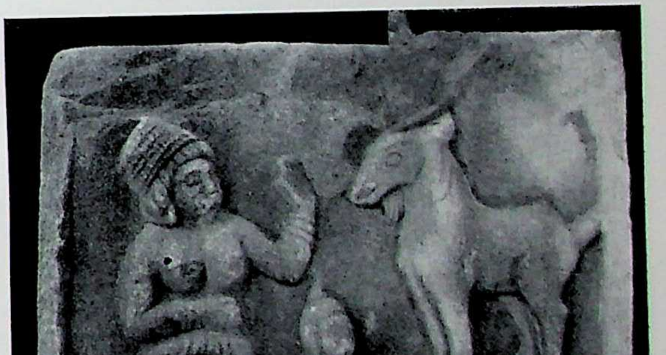


Fig. 68

Fig. 67

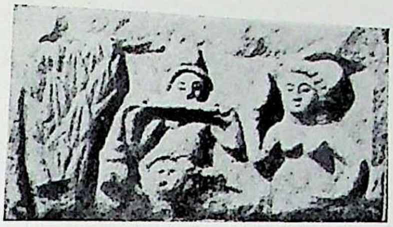


Fig. 69

Fig. 70

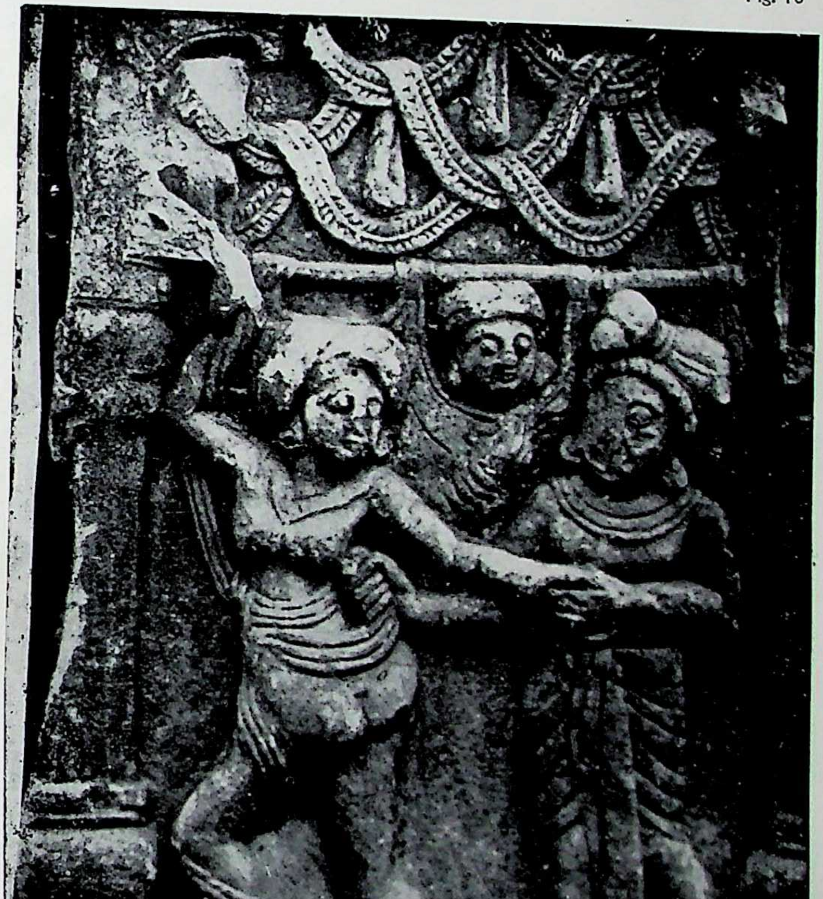


Fig. 71

STORIES OF THE PAST

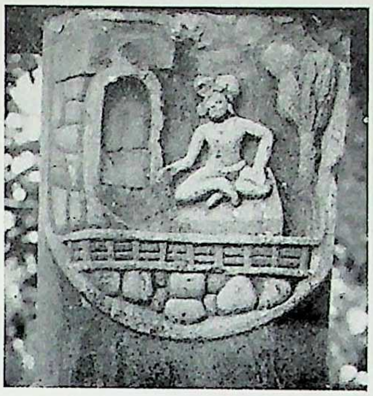


Fig. 73

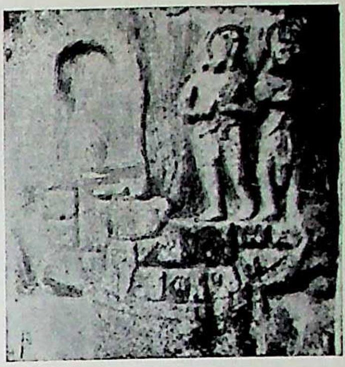


Fig. 73 (a) SEQUEL OF 73 (?)

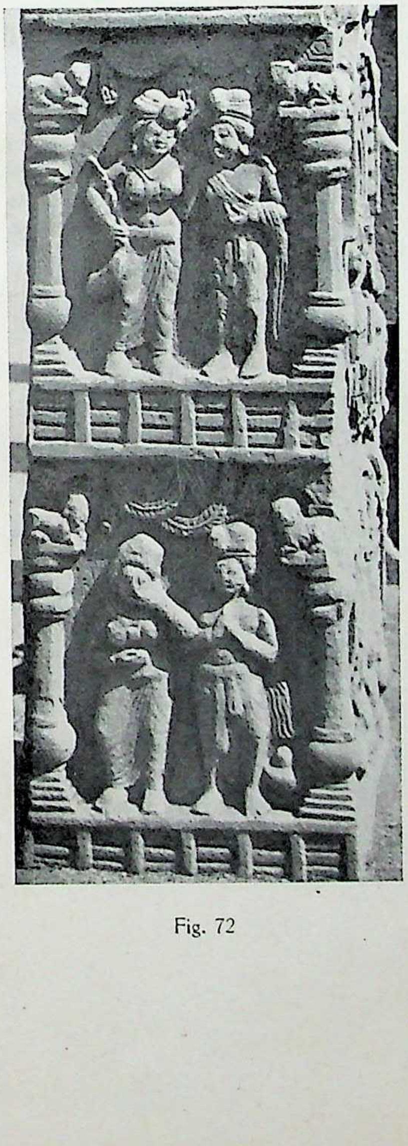


Fig. 72

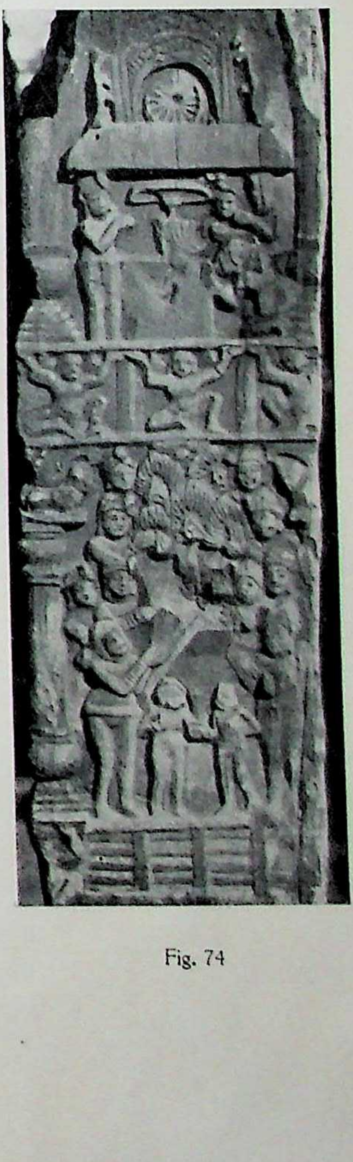


Fig. 74

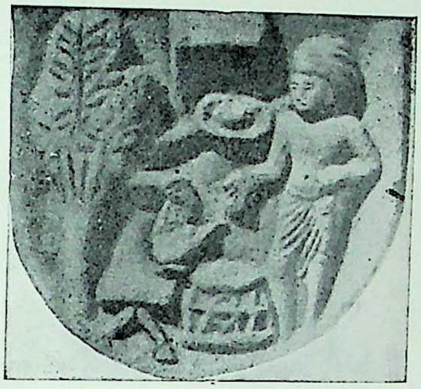


Fig. 75

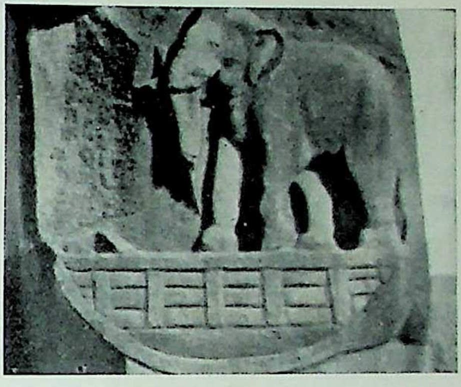
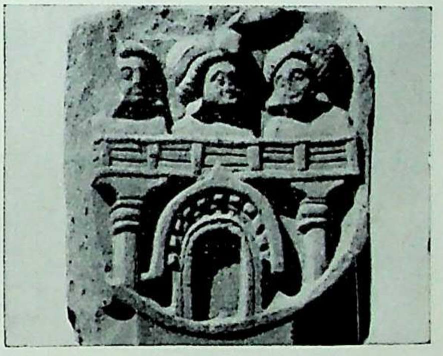


Fig. 76



N. B. Read in Fig. 24 (a) JEWEL-WALK for 'JEWEL-WORK'